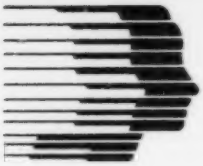

Women's Policy Office

Government of Newfoundland and Labrador

EFFECT OF THE CRISIS IN THE NEWFOUNDLAND FISHERY ON WOMEN WHO WORK IN THE INDUSTRY

Prepared by: Andy Rowe Consulting Economists

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Women's Policy Office
Government of Newfoundland and Labrador
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Executive Summary

The Newfoundland fishery has undergone substantial structural shifts during the past decade which has seen the development of two very large integrated fish harvesting and processing companies (Fishery Products International and National Sea), and increased emphasis on obtaining more value from the harvested resource as well as the expansion of harvesting and processing to include additional species which were previously underutilized. The intention of these changes was to improve the international competitiveness of the fishery. However, problems with the management of the fishery resource have led to a significant reduction in the catch and created serious economic problems in both the harvesting and processing sectors. These problems have had a direct and dramatic impact on those who work in the industry.

The objective of this research was to assess the differential impact on women of current changes in the fishing industry, and the implications of this for adjustment and diversification policies and programs.

Over the past two decades, women have gained access to an increasing number of the jobs in the fishery. This has been most pronounced in the processing sector where women's share of the work has risen from 16% in 1955, to about 40% in 1987. In the harvesting sector the gains have been much less and have only begun in any significant way in the last half of the 1980's. While these employment gains have dramatically increased women's direct access to the benefits of the industry, it also means that in times of crisis women will also suffer the direct losses caused by the crisis. This study has confirmed this: women are more likely to be found in direct fish processing occupations while men have a much wider range of employment options in fish processing, and the skills that men develop in these positions are more likely to find application with other employers.

Perhaps one of the most striking findings from our research was what it revealed about the lack of awareness/concern about the impact of the fisheries crisis on women on the part of those responsible for responding to it. As this report shows, inadequacies associated with data collection within government make it difficult to track the impact of the crisis on women. While some of those interviewed were sympathetic to our concerns about women, they commented that women's involvement in the fishery and the impact of the crisis had not been looked at systematically. More often, members of government and response committees in the affected communities could not relate to a request for information on women. Silence was a common response. When leaders did respond, they tended to argue that their programs did not make distinctions between individuals, a response that misses the well-documented reality that occupational segregation, the wage gap, and women's responsibility for work in the home mean that as a group, they will be affected differently from men by the kinds of changes that are occurring in the fishery. In Gaultois, members of the all-male industrial adjustment committee referred us to women in the community who had nothing to do directly with the fishery or with the adjustment program. We were told by a member of the Maritime Fishermen's Union that in adjustment committee's in Nova Scotia, when the loss of women's jobs has been explicitly discussed, the discussion has inevitably treated this as a loss to the community rather than particular women. This implies that job creation programs that add new jobs to the community, irrespective of who gets these jobs, will reduce the loss. This assumption overlooks the importance of economic independence for women's well-being, the well-documented requirement of households with incomes as low as those associated with fish processing for multiple incomes, and the fact that the majority of women in Newfoundland and Labrador now work or want to work for pay. The failure to identify the fishery crisis as a threat to women's as well as men's paid work, and the failure to design response programs so that they reflect women's needs has increased the probability that women will suffer more from the crisis, with fewer options for recovery than men. As studies on women and education have shown, gender differences mean that if training programs are to minimally involve women as much as men, and maximally reduce gender inequalities, they must incorporate mechanisms that reflect these goals.

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1 INTRODUCTION

The Newfoundland fishery has undergone substantial structural shifts during the past decade which has seen the development of two very large integrated fish harvesting and processing companies (Fishery Products International and National Sea), and increased emphasis on obtaining more value from the harvested resource as well as the expansion of harvesting and processing to include additional species which were previously underutilized. The intention of these changes was to improve the international competitiveness of the fishery; however, problems with the management of the fishery resource have led to a significant reduction in the catch and created serious economic problems in both the harvesting and processing sectors. These problems have had a direct and dramatic impact on those who work in the industry.

The most obvious impact has been the closure of some large, long-established fish plants such as the FPI plants at Gaultois and Trepassey. This has created the spectre of massive unemployment in these communities where the fishery is almost the sole source of employment and earnings. In addition to the closure of these large plants and a number of smaller plants (for example the Universal Seafoods plant in St. Mary's), the resource shortage has exacerbated some problematic trends which were already underway in the industry: for example, lower landings increases local sensitivity to issues such as the trucking of fish from the port where it is landed and might have been processed, to plants located elsewhere.

The response of government to these problems has been to use new and existing programs to provide support for individuals and communities affected by plant closures or large layoffs, and to attempt to lessen the dependence on the fishery through the provision of support for alternative activities.

Over the past two decades, women have gained access to an increasing number of the jobs in the fishery. This has been most pronounced in the processing sector where women's share of the work has risen from 16% in 1955, to about 40% in 1987. In the harvesting sector the gains have been much less and have only begun in any significant way in the last half of the 1980's. While these employment gains have dramatically increased women's direct access to the benefits of the industry, it also means that in times of crisis women will also suffer the direct losses caused by the crisis.

The objective of this research was to assess the differential impact on women of current changes in the fishing industry, and the implications of this for adjustment and diversification policies and programs. The original terms of reference for the study called for answers to the following general questions:

1. How many women in the province work in the fishing industry?

2. How are these women likely to be affected by lower catch allocations and plant downtimes or closures?

3. Are there likely to be different impacts on female workers in the fishing industry than on male workers?

4. What industrial adjustment policies/programs have been implemented to date and how have they met the needs of women workers?

5. What types of short-term and long-term policies and programs would be most beneficial to women who are likely to lose their jobs?

Our approach to the study was first to establish a framework by which the effect on women of different impacts could be assessed. As an illustration, probably the most important impact is the reduced landings, and this affects women in the industry in a number of ways. For example, it will directly reduce employment and earnings, and through pressure to increase productivity, speed-ups and related production changes also can lead to increased health and safety risks. Reduced landings will also likely lead to changes in the established pattern of shift work which creates difficulties with family life and particularly with child care. It can also reduce the ability and willingness of employers to schedule shifts so as to allow family members to provide for child care. The product of this first step was a table which identified the different impacts and associated these with the effects that the study team anticipated might occur. This table also identified different sources whereby information could be obtained on these effects. This table appears in Appendix 1 and provided the logic for the study.

There is not a lot of information on gender roles and differences in the Newfoundland fishing industry. This is particularly true of baseline or other useful quantitative information, and this is discussed further in Section 2. However, it is also true that there have been very few studies of the fishery which either directly address gender issues, or which even take account of gender differences, the exceptions being some of the work done for the Royal Commission on Employment and Unemployment (see Anger et al and Kealey, both 1986) and the work of the Fisheries Research Group at Memorial (1986, and Williams and Neis, 1990). As a result, the study team proposed to use selected communities where the fishery crisis was particularly acute as case studies whereby the anticipated effects of the impacts causing the crisis could be explored in a more concrete fashion. Gaultois and Trepassey have already been mentioned as two communities where plant closures were imminent, and both of these were examined in our research. In addition, the National Sea plant in St. John's is no longer processing groundfish, and is being considered as a location where shrimp processing could be introduced. The winter fishery which operates out of Port aux Basques is also experiencing a shortage of resource and is a locale where the issue of trucking fish elsewhere to be processed is critical. As well, Port aux Basques is a locale where there has been considerable effort to develop non-fishing (and non-transportation) based economic activities. A fifth community was also selected as a case study to represent

the inshore sector of the industry. In addition to being an inshore plant, the Hant's Harbour plant operated by Janes and Sons Ltd. is a relatively innovative operation and thus provided an opportunity to examine the effects of some of these processes on women in the industry. Table 2 in Appendix 1 shows the impacts which each case study area was anticipated to have experienced.

As with most studies, budgetary considerations had a significant influence on how we conducted the research. In particular, we were only able to visit one of the case study areas outside of St. John's. The case studies in Trepassey, Gaultois and Hant's Harbour had to be conducted by telephone except where individuals could be interviewed in St. John's. In addition to the case study interviews with plant workers, plant managers, women's organizations, chairs of significant groups such as Industrial Adjustment Committees, local government, the union and others where appropriate, a number of interviews were also held in St. John's with government and union representatives. Appendix 2 provides a list of key respondents and organizations interviewed.

The following section of this report addresses the first question in the terms of reference, "How many women in the province work in the fishing industry?". A review was conducted of possible sources of quantitative information on employment in the industry distinguished by gender. The results of that review are presented in Section 2, along with a brief qualitative assessment of important employment trends in the industry for which, unfortunately, there is little or no quantitative data. The section includes specific recommendations which, if followed, would substantially improve the possibility of conducting such analysis in the future. Section 3 provides an overview of the sources of impacts on the fishery, and the nature of the effects that these might have on women working in the industry. This discussion is based upon our own experience and background research as well as information obtained from respondents during the course of the study. The next substantive section uses the case study information to assess the effects of these impacts on women. This is followed by a final summary section which also presents recommendations and identifies areas where additional study would be useful.

2 WOMEN IN THE FISHERY IN NEWFOUNDLAND

The first task identified in the Terms of Reference was to describe, using existing data, the position and role of women in the Newfoundland fishery. In our proposal we suggested that there was very little existing data which distinguished gender at the industry sector level. This has been confirmed by a systematic review of data with the Newfoundland Statistics Agency, the provincial Department of Fisheries and the federal Department of Fisheries and Oceans and Employment and Immigration Canada. What data is available is presented in this section, along with a qualitative description of the role women have in the processing and harvesting sectors, and an assessment of means by which baseline data could be obtained without significant expenditures.

The key constraint is that published data does not normally identify gender at the industry level. As an example, while it is possible to compare earnings by gender and to compare the employment in the fishery by gender, it is not possible to obtain data with which a comparison could be made of earnings by gender in the fishery sector. However such comparison can be obtained from a special tabulation of the Census of Canada, and if gender were to be included in the surveys conducted by both the Provincial and Federal line departments, then additional data could be readily available which would greatly reduce this deficiency.

2.1 Review of Existing Data

Considerable caution must be used with the definitions of employment and earnings data because the definitional differences which exist between different sources and even within the same source can be significant. Table 1 below identifies the number of full-time equivalent jobs by gender in fish processing in Newfoundland from 1957 to 1986, the last year for which the data is available. This data was obtained from *Historical Statistics of Newfoundland and Labrador*, a publication of the Newfoundland Statistics Agency. A full-time equivalent job means, essentially, 52 weeks of work, although this may be (and in the fishery is usually) done by more than one person. Thus 4 people working 13 weeks each would equate to one full-time equivalent job, so the numbers presented in Table 1 would be far less than the total number of people working in fish processing. This is an important point since women are less likely to have year-round employment, so the table underestimates the number of women actually working more than it does men. However the table is very useful in that it can be used to compare changes over time in the total amount of employment in fish processing available to men and women, and, as can be seen, women's share of that employment has risen quite significantly, from about 16% to close to 40% of total direct fish processing employment.

TABLE 1

FULL-TIME EQUIVALENT JOBS IN THE FISH PROCESSING INDUSTRY 1957-1986

YEAR	MALE PRODUCTION WORKERS[1]	FEMALE PRODUCTION WORKERS[1]	% FEMALE PRODUCTION WORKERS[1]	TOTAL EMPLOYEES	% FEMALE PRODUCTION WORKERS OF TOTAL EMPLOYEES
1957	1796	372	0.17	2395	0.16
1958	1852	351	0.16	2387	0.15
1959	1788	385	0.18	2378	0.16
1960	2132	398	0.16	2808	0.14
1961	2206	451	0.17	2938	0.15
1962	2169	451	0.17	3020	0.15
1963	2370	546	0.19	3326	0.16
1964	2392	530	0.18	3313	0.16
1965	3012	623	0.17	4031	0.15
1966	3253	755	0.19	4454	0.17
1967	3206	695	0.18	4415	0.16
1868	3508	866	0.20	4853	0.18
1969	3851	744	0.16	5104	0.15
1970	4078	916	0.18	5458	0.17
1971	4082	1025	0.20	5566	0.18
1972	3796	984	0.21	5227	0.19
1973	4145	1242	0.23	5961	0.21
1974	3355	1237	0.27	5171	0.24
1975	2746	1132	0.29	4344	0.26
1976	3711	1490	0.29	5777	0.26
1977	4416	2057	0.32	7059	0.29
1978	4839	2607	0.35	8161	0.32
1979	5523	3446	0.38	9807	0.35
1980	4787	3209	0.40	8933	0.36
1981	5160	3326	0.39	9415	0.35
1982	4478	3092	0.41	8470	0.37
1983	4162	3094	0.43	8199	0.38
1984	4456	3277	0.42	8637	0.38
1985	4610	3422	0.43	9134	0.37
1986	5059	3975	0.44	10285	0.39

[1] Does not include workers who are not directly involved in production such as transportation and marketing.

Source: Newfoundland Statistics Agency (1990): *HISTORICAL STATISTICS OF NEWFOUNDLAND AND LABRADOR*, St. John's, Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, Table N-3, p.157.

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The 1986 Census is the only other source of published data which can provide information on women's employment in the fishery. Data is available at the industry level for both harvesting and processing. However, by its nature, Census data is frequently out of date, and it will likely be 1993 before data becomes available from the 1991 Census. The Census does have the advantage, however, of providing more detail and is also a consistent source of information over time. The 1986 data presented here can be used as a baseline, and if the additional tabulations are purchased as recommended below, then a fairly comprehensive baseline can be established.

Table 2 contains data apparently relating to the same activity, employment in fish harvesting and processing, but there are differences in the definitions of employment used in the different parts of the table (see table notes for sources). The first element in the table, age of workers occupied in manufacturing, is similar to the definition of employment used in Table 1 in that it does not include workers involved indirectly through activities such as marketing, transportation and like activities not **directly** involved in production. However, all of the data in Table 2 is unlike Table 1 in that the data refers to the number of people working, not to full-time equivalent jobs. Thus in the first element of Table 2, we can see that in June of 1986 (month of the Census) 7,835 women worked in direct processing jobs, and from Table 1 we can see that there were 3,975 full-time equivalent direct processing jobs filled by women in that year. Table 1 data is collected as part of the annual Census of Manufacturers which occurs in the fall of the following year. Thus the 1986 data would have been collected in the fall of 1987. A comparison of Tables 1 and 2 shows clearly that men are far more likely to have regular employment in fish processing; for example, in 1986, 5,460 men (Table 1) filled 5,059 full-time equivalent jobs, a ratio of 0.927, while 7,835 women filled 3,975 full-time equivalent jobs, a ratio of 0.507.

Comparing elements one and two in Table 2 we can see that there were 7,835 women employed in direct processing jobs in June of 1986, while 10,510 women were working in all fish processing positions. The third element of Table 2 uses the narrower definition employed in the first element, that is, employment in direct processing jobs in June, 1986. Similarly, for harvesting, the first and third elements refer to employment directly in the boats, while the second element would include jobs in handling, transporting and selling the fish and in outfitting, scheduling and maintaining the boats. However, the harvesting data seems to contain an additional definitional difference: the offshore sector appears to be included in element one but not in element two. This is likely because people working on offshore vessels report their employer as, for example, FPI, who would be classed as a 'fish processor' so they would be included in processing jobs.

These definitional differences can provide some useful insight into gender differences in employment in the fishery. For example in processing, total direct female employment (element one) is 7,835 and total female employment (element two) is 10,510; thus 2,675 women worked in the processing sector but not in processing occupations. By comparison 7,230 men worked in jobs which, while in the processing sector, were not involved directly in processing (such as maintenance, marketing, office, transportation, etc.). Thus, women had 59% of direct processing jobs (element one) but only 27% of the indirect jobs in processing. Conversely, men had 41% of direct processing jobs and 73% of the indirect jobs. (This slightly overstates the difference

since offshore harvesting jobs in element two appear to be reported as processing jobs; we cannot, however, determine the extent of this bias).

There are probably two important implications of the gender differences in direct and indirect employment: the direct processing jobs are likely to be lower paid, of shorter duration and involve more shift work than the other positions, and the skills involved in the direct processing jobs are less likely to be transferrable to other employment sectors. In the harvesting sector men occupy almost all of the indirect jobs. The strong gender differences in direct and indirect employment in fish processing is consistent with the data presented in element three where women are shown to be more likely to work for a shorter period of the year than are men.

Returning to elements one and two of Table 2 we can see that the proportion of women working in processing is highest in the 35-54 age classes, and this is more pronounced for the direct processing jobs (element one). We do not know whether women stay in processing longer, or if they move in and out. Either pattern would account for the age pattern, but in either case women appear to have a stronger 'attachment' to fish processing occupations than do men in that by the time the middle working years are reached there are relatively few men working at processing in the plants. We cannot tell from the data if this means that men have moved to indirect jobs with the same fish processing employer, if they have left to work with other employers, or are self-employed or unemployed. As we will see in Table 3, this is reflected by greater male employment in non-processing occupations, even in those communities where fish processing is the major source of employment. However, it is clear that women are still working in processing. This greater attachment is also reflected in the older median age for women in processing occupations.

TABLE 2

AVAILABLE EMPLOYMENT DATA ON THE FISHING INDUSTRY WHICH INCLUDES GENDER AS A VARIABLE, 1986 CENSUS

		PROCESSING			HARVESTING		
VARIABLE	**CODE**	**Male**	**Female**	**% Female**	**Male**	**Female**	**% Female**
ELEMENT ONE	15-24	1,820	1,375	0.43	2,350	160	0.07
Age of Workers Occupied in Manufacturing[1] (ie. by Occupation)	25-34	2,045	2,740	0.57	3,520	395	0.11
	35-44	815	2,280	0.74	2,950	280	0.09
	45-54	380	1,020	0.73	1,780	110	0.06
	55-64	390	405	0.51	1,355	50	0.04
	65+	15	15	0.50	100	-	0.00
	All Ages	5,460	7,835	0.59	12,050	985	0.08
	Median Age	29.0	33.8	1.17	35.0	32.9	0.94
ELEMENT TWO	15-24	3,405	1,835	0.35	1,915	170	0.08
Age of Labour Force in the Industry[2] (ie. by Industry)	25-34	4,445	3,785	0.46	2,810	365	0.12
	35-44	2,510	2,990	0.54	2,445	265	0.10
	45-54	1,275	1,355	0.52	1,565	110	0.07
	55-64	1,000	500	0.33	1,190	50	0.04
	65+	40	40	0.50	90	-	0.00
	All Ages	12,690	10,510	0.45	10,020	975	0.09
	Median Age	31.1	33.5	1.08	35.7	33.0	0.92
ELEMENT THREE	1-26 Total	3,895	7,050	0.64	11,065	1,200	0.10
Number of Weeks Worked[3]	1-26 MFT[4]	2,295	3,280	0.59	9,325	735	0.07
	27-48 Total	1,605	1,230	0.43	2,100	30	0.01
	27-48 MFT	985	675	0.41	1,170	20	0.02
	49-52 Total	445	230	0.34	590	10	0.02
	49-52 MFT	360	165	0.31	510	5	0.01
	Total	5,950	8,510	0.59	13,750	1,235	0.08
	Total MFT	3,540	4,125	0.54	1,610	760	0.32

NOTES: [1] Statistics Canada 93-112, Table 1, pp.1-33/34.
[2] Statistics Canada 93-113, Table 1, pp.1-17/18
[3] Statistics Canada 93-112, Table 2, pp.2-31/32
[4] MFT==> Mostly Full Time, else part-time.

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It is thus instructive to see in element three that even though women may have a greater attachment to direct processing occupations (element one), they are still less likely to have 'mostly full-time (MFT)' work. In element three of Table 2 the proportion of women with mostly full-time work is always lower than their share in total jobs; for example, women have 64% of the 1-26 week jobs, but only 59% of these jobs where work is mostly full-time. In other words, women fill more of the irregular shifts, while men are more likely to be working during the regular shifts.

In contrast to processing, women's share of harvesting positions is greatest for the youngest two age classes. This likely reflects a recent growth in the number of women in harvesting occupations and we can expect that the share of women in harvesting occupations for the older age classes will increase as these new entrants age. It should be noted, however, that women still have a much smaller share of harvesting work.

At this stage it is useful to summarise what we can deduce from the data presented in Tables 1 and 2. Women's share of the work in fish processing has increased dramatically over the post-war period, but there are still clear gender differences in employment in this sector. While more of the direct processing jobs are filled by women, the indirect jobs are still predominantly male. These indirect jobs are more likely to involve skills which can lead to employment outside of the fishery (whereas direct processing skills will only be in demand in other types of food processing), and this is consistent with the greater attachment by women to fish processing occupations. The clear implication of this is that if fish processing is reduced, and the jobs occupied by women are probably more likely to be cut, then the skills that women have are least likely to be transferrable to other employment sectors. Thus, while men and women both share the immediate effect of job loss or reduction, this situation will probably persist with women because the skills that they developed in fish processing are less likely to be in demand elsewhere.

The 1986 data can also be used to provide an indicator of comparative earnings in fish processing. It must be stressed, however, that the data presented in Table 3 **only provides an indication**, and this should be clear from the methods used to obtain the results shown in Table 3. This begins with a 1986 list of Newfoundland fish plants which indicates the number of employees of each plant and the community in which each plant is located. Then, using 1986 Census Community Profiles for communities with and near fish plants, the number of persons working in fish processing occupations (analogous to element one in Table 2) can be identified, as can the number of persons reporting employment income, and both of these counts are by gender. Consequently, three counts are available: the number of employees of the plant, the number of men and women

with processing occupations, and the number of men and women reporting employment income. Where the number of people reporting income is similar to the number of people working in fish processing, then the incomes reported for the community can be assumed to be earned largely from fish processing. Table 3 shows Newfoundland communities with fish plants where the number of women working in processing occupations in June, 1986 was at least 30% the number of women reporting income from employment in that month and in that community. Nine communities listed in Table 3 have over half of women's employment dependent on fish processing, while a further eleven communities had the number of women reporting processing occupations at least 30% of the number reporting earned income.

TABLE 3
EMPLOYMENT BY GENDER IN COMMUNITIES WHERE OVER A THIRD OF WOMEN'S EMPLOYMENT IS IN FISH PROCESSING OCCUPATIONS

	WOMEN				MEN			
	Processing	Full-Time	Part-Time	% in Processing	Processing	Full-Time	Part-Time	% in Processing
Jackson's Arm	95	5	145	0.63	45	20	160	0.25
Triton	105	40	195	0.45	35	60	295	0.10
Rose Blanche/Harbour Le Cou	90	5	155	0.56	100	45	260	0.33
Gaultois	70	15	95	0.64	80	40	130	0.47
Harbour Breton	155	50	270	0.48	205	130	485	0.33
Burnt Islands	100	0	105	0.95	85	20	225	0.35
Isle aux Morts	105	15	190	0.51	70	60	265	0.22
Roddicton	145	45	255	0.48	75	45	285	0.23
Bide Arm	60	0	75	0.80	10	10	90	0.10
Englee	100	35	200	0.43	60	55	245	0.20
L'anse au Loup	40	20	105	0.32	20	35	130	0.12
Red Bay	40	0	55	0.73	0	5	75	0.00
Badger's Quay, Valleyfield, Pools Island	105	70	225	0.36	105	75	315	0.27
Newtown	65	0	110	0.59	15	30	75	0.14
Comfort Cove, Newstead	130	10	145	0.84	75	10	195	0.37
Change Islands	45	5	115	0.38	5	15	135	0.03
Seldom	30	5	90	0.32	15	25	95	0.13
Flowers Cove	35	20	80	0.35	15	20	135	0.10
Ramea	60	25	175	0.30	130	110	290	0.33
Bayview	25	15	60	0.33	80	5	130	0.59

Source: Calculated from Statistics Canada (1988): *Profiles, Newfoundland, Part 2*, Ottawa, Statistics Canada, 94-102

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This table lists communities where women's employment can be considered to be highly dependent on the fishery. As can be seen, it is likely that most of this employment is part-time or seasonal. For example, in Burnt Island, 95% of women's employment is from fish processing and no women had a full-time job in June, 1986. In all but two of the communities (Bayview and Ramea), women were far more likely to be employed in processing than were men. However, there are some apparently unusual situations where men

are as likely to be part-time as women, for example, in Roddicton where local women worked very hard to establish the (crab) plant and the manager is a woman. It would be useful to know more about these situations as well as ones such as Red Bay where the high level of women's employment might reflect a shortage of men interested in working in the plant since many are fishing.

In communities where over half of the women working are employed in processing, it seems reasonable to assume that the income profile of the community will reflect (at least roughly) the income profile of fish processing occupations. In addition, since we have already seen from Table 3 that most of this work is part-time, then the profile of part-time earned income will likely approximate women's earnings from fish processing more closely than would the income profile of all employed women. Table 4 shows the average earnings of men and women who were employed part-time in June 1986 in communities where over half of women's employment was in processing. While this is a very indirect way of estimating women's earnings from fish processing, it is probably the only way that these estimates can be obtained with published data. In addition to the income data for these communities, Table 4 also shows two offshore communities as well as presenting comparable information for the Census Districts containing the communities listed in the table.

What is clear from this table is that women's earnings from processing are significantly lower than men's, and that there are far more employment opportunities for men outside of fish processing. While these observations are not surprising, the implications are quite significant in situations where employment in fish processing is reduced or eliminated as a consequence of the problems in the fishery. Put simply, women earn less from the fishery and while they have about 60% of the processing positions, they have far fewer alternative sources of employment. Recalling that the bulk of indirect employment in fish processing (transportation, marketing, maintenance, etc.) goes to men, and that these skills are more likely to find employment outside of fish processing than are the skills required for the direct processing jobs where women are more likely to be employed, then it seems likely that women will find themselves more strongly affected by job reductions in fish processing than will men in the industry.

Thus, women make up the majority of processing workers in the fishery. In addition, their incomes are lower, there are fewer alternative employment opportunities for women than men, and women with children cannot move easily to find work. These gender differences mean that women have probably been harder hit by structural changes that have eroded fishery employment than male processing workers. In our assessment of industrial adjustment strategies/programs in the following section of this report we found little or no evidence that programming had been informed by this understanding.

TABLE 4
AVERAGE INCOMES BY GENDER FOR COMMUNITIES WHERE OVER HALF OF WOMEN WORKING ARE IN FISH PROCESSING OCCUPATIONS

COMMUNITY	WOMEN			MEN			Census Area
	% in Processing	Number with Employ-ment Income	Average Part-time Employ-ment Income	% in Processing	Number with Employ-ment Income	Average Part-time Employ-ment Income	
INSHORE COMMUNITIES							
Rose Blanche, Harbour Le Cou	0.56	90	3,720	0.33	100	10,804	3J
Burnt Islands	0.95	100	6,039	0.35	85	16,034	3C
Isle aux Morts	0.51	105	6,212	0.22	70	9,546	3H
Census Division 3	0.28	1,005	5,355	0.17	1,145	10,623	3
Jackson's Arm	0.63	95	3,098	0.25	45	5,945	5G
Census Division 5	0.07	540	5,500	0.07	830	9,515	5
Newtown	0.59	65	6,097	0.14	15	7,005	7A
Census Division 7	0.20	1,310	4,692	0.13	1,385	8,096	7
Comfort Cove, Newstead	0.84	130	3,012	0.37	75	5,231	8G
Census Division 8	0.17	1,345	3,927	0.09	1,220	8,241	8
Bide Arm	0.80	60	2,901	0.10	10	10,169	9F
Census Division 9	0.25	1,430	3,952	0.08	605	8,438	9
Red Bay	0.73	40	2,419	0.00	0	5,571	10A
Census Division 10	0.07	335	5,156	0.04	365	9,681	10
OFFSHORE COMMUNITIES							
Gaultois	0.64	70	4,650	0.47	80	8,483	3C
Ramea	0.30	60	5,327	0.33	130	14,878	3F
Inshore Communities in Census Division 3	0.63	295	5,393	0.29	255	12,202	

Source: Calculated from Statistics Canada (1988): *Profiles, Newfoundland, Part 2*, Ottawa, Statistics Canada, 94-102

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2.2 Options for Improving the Availability of Data on Women in the Fishery

It is clear from the discussion above that it is difficult to obtain gender differentiated data on the fishery. However, with limited modifications such data could become more readily available. The principal sources of the type of data which would be most useful (such as employment and earnings type information) are Statistics Canada, the Newfoundland Department of Fisheries and the Department of Fisheries and Oceans. Each of these three agencies has different interests and jurisdictions but among them they provide coverage of all major elements of the industry.

The Census of Canada can provide most of the required information on income and employment and can do so for very small geographic areas. There are two problems however. First, the data is only captured every five years, and data of the detail required is not normally released until one to two years after the June Census date. However, this data can provide the essential baseline which has been missing to date. The second constraint is that much of the required data is unpublished and requires a special tabulation by Statistics Canada who charge for this service. However, the costs of each tabulation is about $1500 and since the essential baseline data can be obtained in one or perhaps two tabulations, then the costs are not excessive. The key to limiting the number of tabulations is to prepare the request carefully and in conjunction with the Newfoundland Statistics Agency. As an example, it is possible to obtain the following in one tabulation: Income Class by the Number of Weeks Worked by Gender and Occupation and this could be tabulated for quite small geographic areas. Perhaps a more useful second tabulation would be Occupation by Industry by Gender with median income for each grouping. This second tabulation would permit an assessment of the proposition above that men occupy most of the indirect positions in the fish processing industry and thus are likely to have better prospects of alternative employment outside the fishery. With this data distinctions can be made between the offshore, inshore and winter fishery, for example, using the geographic location as an indicator. It should be noted that the Newfoundland Statistics Agency has just ordered the Newfoundland data from the Public User Sample Tape (PUST) for the 1986 Census and it is possible that additional information will be available from that. PUST contains a sample of the responses to the 'long form' of the Census which is completed by one in 5 households. The sample provided is 5% of the respondents to the long form of the questionnaire, so the tape contains responses from 1% of all households. This provides reliable data at the provincial level but smaller geographic areas will be far less reliable.

The province has jurisdiction over fish processing and in December of every year conducts a census of all fish plants. Among the information captured is the total number of employees and, according to Frank Pinhorn, Director of Processing Operations with the provincial Department of Fisheries, simple modifications could capture the gender of employees. This would be useful since it would permit a precise estimate of inshore and offshore peak employment by gender. The Department of Fisheries and Oceans has jurisdiction over harvesting and annually conducts a Cost and Earnings Survey which, to date, has not identified gender. John Collins, Manager of Economic Services reports that there would be little difficulty in identifying gender in this survey and thus provide detailed information on the harvesting activities of women working in that sector. Thus, with simple modifications, gender-based information can be obtained on both the processing and harvesting roles of women in the fishery. Indeed, one might question why such simple modifications have not

already been implemented. If these simple modifications had been made sooner, we might have found greater awareness among those in charge of responding to the crisis of the extent to which changes in the fishery are threatening female workers and the particular barriers that these workers confront.

There is one additional source of information, the various registers maintained by EIC as part of the administration of the Unemployment Insurance Act. These rolls can permit the identification of potential and actual UI claimants and provide some information on earnings (through size of potential claim), weeks worked, occupation (4 and 7 Digit levels for preliminary beneficiaries), age and location (through postal code). It is our sense that this type of information could provide insight into specific aspects of the industry and women's role in the industry once questions can be refined based on the baseline date from the Census. Since the data is routinely collected no special effort is required to gain access to the information (through Economic Services Branch, EIC Regional Office, managed by Bren Kenney). As a cautionary note, some of the data appears to be kept for only two years. Consequently, care should be taken to ensure that the data is obtained annually.

2.3 Women in Fish Processing

During the late 1970's and early 1980's, not only did more women enter fish processing, but in addition, fish processing work became more rigidly gender-segregated. This increased gender segregation partially reflected the effect of laws making it illegal to pay different wages to men and women for the same job, so employers could not move women onto men's jobs without threatening the wage gap in the plants. It also reflected, however, a shift to individualized work stations, and the introduction of incentive systems of payment in most offshore and some inshore plants. Female workers who, in the past, combined several jobs now became specialized packers and trimmers, confined to their work stations and highly constrained jobs consisting of repetitious movements. These changes in management and technology discouraged mobility between jobs and added to the problems with stress, repetitive strain injuries (RSI) and perhaps back problems experienced by workers.

Recent research on deepsea plants by Williams and Neis (1990) suggests that there are significant problems with stress and RSI among plantworkers. In some plants, male cutters have responded to these threats to their health by bumping on to less prestigious jobs with lower pay. Because of their generally higher seniority and the broader range of "male" jobs within fishplants and outside, male workers are better able than female workers to avoid jobs conducive to stress and RSI. In addition, women may experience more problems because of having to work on tables that are not adjustable and which were designed for male workers.

Female plantworkers with young children, particularly single mothers and women who live in abusive or at least difficult home environments, are particularly susceptible to stress (Williams and Neis, 1990). The combined effects of shiftwork, a real shortage of subsidized, suitable child care facilities, and stressful working conditions make fishplant work a major threat to the health of these female workers. This stress has been exacerbated by growing uncertainties about the future of their jobs, reductions in hours of work and changes in shifts associated with the structural transformation of the fishery.

Women who comprise the majority of workers in crab plants also face risks to their health. These risks include problems with RSI and stress as well as allergic reactions to crab dust, commonly referred to as crab lung. According to one crab plant manager, the automation of crab processing has increased the risk of both crab lung and RSI. This manager suggested that the risk of both can be reduced if workers are rotated onto other jobs as soon as problems are detected. Stock depletion, and often women's lack of training on a broad range of plant jobs, limit the range of jobs onto which they can be rotated. In both groundfish and crab plants, incentive systems add to problems with injuries and stress and make it more difficult to rotate workers because of the threat of a reduction in income.

Chronic health problems such as RSI, osteoarthritis and back problems, often aggravated by cold and damp working conditions, may limit the alternative employment options available to female as well as male plantworkers. RSI could, for example, make it difficult for them to engage in word processing, should employment opportunities emerge.

3 OVERVIEW OF SOURCES OF IMPACTS

The methodology for the case studies was described in the first section of this report. The general approach of the study was to identify the major sources of impacts and to consider the effects that these might have on women. This section provides an overview of these sources of impacts: resource shortage (including the mobility of landings and quotas), new products and processes, and government programs and regulations. These are described in order below.

3.1 Resource Shortages

The decline of the northern cod stocks brought to a halt the ten-year strategy of revitalizing Atlantic Canada's inshore and offshore fishery. DFO's techniques for assessing the growth in these stocks have now been recognized as inadequate, although the industry must shoulder some of the blame for misreporting and other inaccuracies in the commercial catch data. In 1990, the northern cod quota was reduced to 197,000 metric tonnes from 235,000 in 1989. Reduction in offshore quotas to the big processing companies prompted them to announce plans to close plants in St. John's, Grand Bank, Gaultois and Trepassey, transferring their quotas elsewhere, which would throw over 1,400 people out of work. Since then, an infusion of federal and provincial funds has kept the latter three plants operating in 1991. National Sea is converting the St. John's plant to shrimp, which will use fewer employees and there is no great certainty at this point that the operation will go ahead. Grand Bank has prospects for a new operator in an underutilized species, but Gaultois and Trepassey, at this time, have no prospects for operation in the future.

The quota reductions have also affected inshore plants, which had benefited from two programs designed to distribute offshore or midshore fish to seasonal plants thereby extending the processing season in the spring and fall. Quotas for both the Resource Short Plant Program and the Scandinavian Longliner Fleet (Middle Distance Fleet) were abruptly cancelled, much to the dismay of provincial authorities and people in the industry.

The FFAW does not accept the corporate rationales for closure, especially in the case of National Sea which they say has made bad corporate decisions and is spread too thin internationally. The union argues that there is no logic in the fact that plants adjacent to the best stocks are slated to shut down. A similar argument has been widely used in objections to the cutting of the RSPP and the Scandinavian Longliner Fleet: although they were recent entrants to the fishery, the principles set out in the Groundfish Management Plan included giving priority to fishing and processing interests adjacent to the resource. Another controversy centres on DFO giving Maritime and Quebec interests more access to offshore and inshore stocks to the detriment of adjacent interests in this province.

Overfishing by Newfoundland interests has also been part of the problem, such as in the Southwest Coast area where the under 65 foot fleet has developed sophisticated catching technology which has threatened the viability of stocks along that coast.

3.2 Women in Fish Processing

Women's Work in Plants

As shown in Section 2, about 60 per cent of the province's production workers in fish plants are women, and this percentage is greater on the East Coast where processing is dominated by the seasonal fishery. Most packers and trimmers are women, most hand filleters (cutters), machine filleting operators and service labourers are men. In the seasonal plants, there are more women working on machines and even hand cutting, but in the larger plants these are mostly men's jobs. Fish cutters tend to inherit the machine jobs as filleting is automated in their plants. Hand cutting has been a high-status and highly paid job, and on the incentive system (a piecework rate above basic wage), cutters work fast to increase their bonus, setting a fast work pace for those further down the production line, who may or may not be on incentive. (Incentive systems are slowly being phased out: these management control systems have been a source of conflict, and plants are increasingly machine-paced).

Health and Safety

The unions report that Occupational Health and Safety Committees are active in many plants despite resource shortages and threats to workers' jobs. According to the FFAW, the level of activity varies from one plant to another, tending to be highest in FPI plants because this company has contributed more resources to them. It is in the interests of companies to become more involved in health and safety because of rising Workers Compensation premiums. This rise is partly the result of an increase in long-term disability claims from workers who have been in the plants for over a decade and are developing musculoskeletal disorders caused by fast, repetitive work, awkward forceful movements and cold, damp conditions. Men tend to develop chronic back problems and tennis elbow from heavy lifting and the forceful movements of hand cutting. Women are developing back and shoulder problems from standing and bending over for long periods, as well as tenosynovitis carpal tunnel syndrome and osteoarthritis and other hand/wrist inflammations due to the fast, repetitive motions of trimming and packing in a cold, wet environment. Both genders have job stress, with women more susceptible to the stress resulting from the lack of mobility. The senior workers are not, on average, very old: most are in their late 30s to early 50s. There is a high turnover in this labour force as many have left because of these conditions. (For a fuller discussion of stress and repetitive strain injuries see Williams and Neis 1990).

Ergonomic improvements designed to make work more comfortable and efficient for those doing the work are long overdue in the province's plants. The FFAW argues that despite all the renovated processing lines in the industry in the past two decades, not enough attention has been paid to this aspect, even though better workplace tools and equipment are available. However, some companies are beginning to look at innovating in this area because of the high cost of compensation and a greater awareness by management and workers of the problem. One hopeful sign is that the FFAW and FPI are currently involved in some ergonomic pilot projects to improve working conditions with such things as stools and adjustable work tables.

Workers and their unions in Canada as a whole are increasingly aware of the hazards of repetitive work, although many of these health problems are not adequately recognized or covered by compensation

boards. Given that the majority of fish plant workers in this province are women, the issue has been one of concern for the FFAW Women's Caucus in the past. The FFAW Executive Board is currently working to re-establish the Women's Caucus, which was disbanded when the FFAW split from the UFCW.

Although some workers have suggested rotation as a way to break the monotony of fish plant jobs, the FFAW has concentrated on improving the jobs themselves rather than moving people around. The union does ensure rotation of workers on the same line, however, because the work is easier at the head of the line where workers can pick the best fish to work with.

Accidental release of hazardous fumes such as chlorine and ammonia has been a common problem in fish plants. Despite the progress that has been made on this problem, workers in specific cases are still coming into conflict with management over their right to leave the workplace and stay away until the problem has been corrected. Currently, the FFAW and FPI are conducting joint training sessions in chemicals handling twice yearly in all FPI plants, as part of a national program (Work Hazard Information System).

Work, Home and Community

The contribution of women's earnings to household income has become vitally important over the last two decades. As the opportunities for men to earn cash income from logging, sealing and other off-season work has declined, women have steadily contributed income to the household from plant work and other short-term or part-time jobs. In the current recession, there is a much greater immediate need for two incomes to provide the basic necessities from week to week.

Many women have preferred working night shifts at fish plants, because it frees them up during the day for housework and child care. In times of resource shortage, night shifts are more precarious. Managers may cancel the shift or schedule a later starting time and shorter advance notice because of uncertainty about the day's catch. This affects women and low seniority employees who tend to predominate on the night shifts. Women find it more difficult to arrange child care and keep up with household duties. Later starting times for night shifts bring them home in the early morning with less time or ability to sleep. In plants such as the St. John's plant, where day and night shift did not rotate and with separate seniority lists for day and night shift workers, female workers tended to have lower seniority. This has added to their vulnerability to reduced working hours and job loss.

Existing research on rural Newfoundland suggests that despite their increasing influx into paid labour, women continue to be primarily responsible for work in the home and for caring work in the wider community (Porter, 1990; Sinclair and Felt, 1989). The burden of the double day of work is particularly great for single mothers, women whose husbands are absent from the community, and women in abusive home situations. These women confront the combined problems of stressful work and home situations. This problem is exacerbated by the low earnings of female plantworkers, which limit their ability to hire child care workers and their ability to pay good wages. The shortage of subsidized child care, exacerbated in this province by

the low ceiling on incomes eligible for subsidy and limits on the types of child care eligible greatly exacerbates this problem.

Although many parents take alternate shifts and share the care of children in this way, single mothers or those whose husbands are unavailable for child care often find it necessary to arrange sitters not only for their work shift but also for time during the day to sleep. Finding child care is often difficult during plant seasons, as there is very little organized child care in rural areas, and parents rely on relatives or young adolescent girls during summer months when most plants are operating. Women find themselves working with combined stresses caused by the work itself and worrying about arrangements for their children.

The current hard times in the fishery are reinforcing the traditional pattern of husbands and fathers leaving for periods of time to find work or training. Household and family responsibilities keep the women in communities seeking alternate employment on various job creation or training projects where available. Most of these still fall short of creating lasting sources of employment, although there are more attempts lately in this direction in sectors such as tourism and craft production.

Attachment to community is strong, however, and displaced plant workers of both genders have so far been reluctant to move to other communities to take jobs in the fishery. Plantworkers of both genders have invested in their homes and their communities and are, not surprisingly, unwilling to give up this investment for a job in another plant where they will be at the bottom of the seniority list in an industry the future of which is decidedly uncertain. If work relations become as nasty as those experienced by Burin workers in the Marystown plant after the Burin plant closed, this could be another reason. Workers in these other plants will, not surprisingly, see incoming workers as taking jobs from their friends and family. If the other plant is beyond commuting distance, it is reasonable to assume that it will be male family members who go, if any at all. Women, particularly single mothers, would be risking a great deal if they abandoned their network of friends and relatives, as well as their homes in their own community for an uncertain future in fish processing elsewhere. If the plant is within commuting distance, women in many communities have shown their willingness to travel long distances in order to find paid work in fish processing.

The FFAW now maintains company-wide seniority lists which enable workers to move more easily to other plants. Hiring from outside union membership has been frozen at FPI plants to give workers threatened with displacement a chance at the jobs. About 300 jobs will be available in the next year or so by this means. So far, workers in communities faced with closure are not moving in significant numbers to take fish plant jobs elsewhere.

3.3 New Processes and Products

New processing is in the developmental stage as plants consider possibilities and realize the need to automate in order to survive. Financial assistance is available to inshore plants through the Canada Newfoundland Inshore Fisheries Agreement and ACOA, and the Department of Fisheries has increased its support for product development and market research. However, modernization can still cost plant owners

hundreds of thousands of dollars. Even for smaller capital investments, there is reluctance to take the risk. This may change if more plant owners realize a return on their investment and others follow suit.

Primary processing is being automated gradually even in the smaller inshore plants. The newer filleting machines can do more in terms of size range, species and extent of functions. For example, machines can now remove the V-bone, and the skinning function has been improved. Automated detection and removal of parasites has been introduced on a trial basis here but the machinery still needs refinement. Machine grading and weighing technology is also being automated, and electronic weighing machines will become common as the precise weights achievable become a measure of the quality of the final product. Automated packing will be introduced from countries such as Iceland, where machines measure and pack different sizes to market specifications.

The number of trimming, packing and weighing jobs in groundfish plants expanded in the late 1970s and early 1980s in response to attempts to improve yield and diversify end products in response to the emergence of specialized market niches. Women filled many of these jobs but their future is now threatened by technological change. Developments in groundfish processing could well follow those in crab. According to a crab plant manager, crab processing has been automated in many plants because the combined impact of lower prices due to competition from surimi and more limited supplies of suitable raw material forced companies to process larger volumes more quickly. Companies are now competing aggressively for crab quotas and through a variety of mechanisms, including increasing their ownership in crab vessels, are attempting to keep their technology working by concentrating crab processing in fewer plants. Similar trends can be expected as groundfish operations are forced to automate and competition for quotas persist. If these predictions are correct, the combined impact of automation and concentration of processing will lead to the closure of many inshore plants where the majority of workers are female and in some cases, layoffs of female workers in those plants that survive. Because female workers tend to have a narrower range of skills than male workers they will encounter more barriers when they attempt to move into other areas of the plant than has been the case with, for example, male cutters. As noted earlier, there are also fewer alternative employment opportunities for women in many of these communities. Increased secondary processing and the processing of underutilized species could provide alternative employment for women but, as noted here, the latter in particular is not expected to be a growth area. The current policy of removing groundfish quotas from plants scheduled for closure means that these plants will have to survive on the basis of production for these narrow market niches. Given the limits on women's mobility and their vulnerability, they would benefit even more than male plantworkers by an approach to restructuring that combined some groundfish processing with a wider range of other activities within the same plant. If they are not to experience a disproportionately large share of the burden of changes, more sustained attempts to reduce the sexual segregation of work in plants and wider communities, including the provision of on-the-job training before changes occur and elimination of barriers to women's involvement in paid work during the spring months when child care workers are difficult to get, must be eliminated. As argued by the Canadian Congress on Learning Opportunities for Women (CCLOW), we need women's training programs but, in addition:

> *In order for women's training programs to have the desired impact, they must represent one element in a whole constellation of related initiatives in each of the three critical areas of equal pay for work of equal value; desegregating the occupational structure of women's work; and restructuring work and family life so that fulfilment in one area of the economy -- formal or informal -- does not mean sacrificing personal and societal expectations in the others (1988, p. vii).*

With resource shortages and lower quotas, fish plants need to get higher yield from landings. Whereas before a plant might need 40,000 to 50,000 lbs. yield from 120,000 lbs. of raw material, it now must get the same yield from about 100,000 lbs. This is done by reducing wastage and making greater use of by-products such as tongues, cheeks, heads and frames. For example, a cod tongue cutter has been developed locally and is appearing in many plants, and processors are also installing mince washers to remove the colour for further processing.

Plant owners are moving away from heavy reliance on primary processing of cod and towards underutilized species, value-added production, secondary processing and product development. For example, there have been recent experiments with smelt processing which indicate that it could be viable if automated, and herring and caplin processing are also being automated. Machines are producing caplin butterfly fillets which are exported for further processing, but eventually more of the smoking and marinating may be done in the province. Product development work is also being done with lumpfish roe and mussels to get more value out of these products.

Although there is much talk about secondary processing, not everyone anticipates that this will be a big growth area. It is still much cheaper to ship fillets to the USA and Japan than to create consumer products here and then try to break into these highly competitive markets. Even with free trade, the USA has too many comparative advantages in cheap labour (predominantly immigrants), fewer benefits, less restrictive labour codes and proximity to markets.

The FFAW reports that its membership has not been reduced by automation so far, and that most of the job loss is due directly to resource-based issues. The pace of automation may have been slowed somewhat by recession, less ready access to investment capital, and market and resource uncertainties. However, there are certain areas where automation has occurred or will be concentrated as a result of a resource shortage, the need to process a low value species or a market slump. For example, crab plants have become heavily automated since the mid-1980s when stocks and prices collapsed and crab plant workers (largely women) were laid off. A proportion of these displaced workers have been brought back into the renovated crab lines or into other processing, but there are no available figures on the net displacement of workers in this sector. Automation will be the rule in the processing of certain by-products such as cod tongues and in redfish because it is a volume based, low value fish. The union points out though that in the groundfish plants that are automating, the machines are still resulting in a need for more trimmers to deal with imperfections in the machine cut fillets.

Proponents of automation see a cyclical situation occurring for workers: plants will conserve, lay off workers, automate primary processing and look at new processing opportunities. Higher yields and value-added or secondary processing will bring greater profitability, and some of the displaced employees will be brought back into industry. However, the most competitive value added and secondary processing plants are highly automated, which means that there will be fewer processing jobs in the long run.

3.4 Adjustment Programs

The following section is a basic outline of the crisis and adjustment funding, and the structure and functioning of the various channels for these funds. In the next section we will examine the impacts and potential impacts of these programs, particularly for women.

Atlantic Fisheries Adjustment Program (AFAP)

This is the federal government's five-year, $584 million program for responding to the crisis in Atlantic Canada's fishing industry. The program has three aspects: Rebuilding of Fish Stocks, Adjustment to Current Realities, and Economic Diversification. Three federal departments or agencies are administering different aspects of the program. DFO has $178 million to rebuild stocks and $50 million to promote economic diversification within the fishery, including new harvesting technology, processing of underutilized species and secondary processing. EIC is administering most of the $260 million support and adjustment programs for workers and communities, such as the Industrial Adjustment Strategy and the Community Development Fund. ACOA has $90 million to deliver the Fisheries Alternatives Program in fisheries-dependent communities, assisting non-fishery enterprises including those in the service sector.

Industrial Adjustment Strategy

IAS is an existing EIC program for communities across Canada experiencing industry shutdowns, and it is a major channel for the AFAP Adjustment to Current Realities funding. IAS committees, with representatives from community, union, company and all levels of government, are responsible for mitigating the human resource effects of plant closure. They arrange for displaced workers to get into training and they look for alternative employment in the affected communities, particularly by seeking new operators for the closing plants. IAS funding for Newfoundland communities is as follows:

St. John's ($13 million, 280 workers)
Gaultois ($12.7 million, 200 workers)
Grand Bank ($17.6 million, 300 workers)
Trepassey ($29 million, 640 workers)

Similar funds were provided for Port aux Basques and Bishop's Falls in 1988 due to the railway shutdown. IAS committees have also been set up for particular groups in the labour force, such as trawler workers, inshore fishermen, middle distance longliner fishermen, coastal Labrador fishermen and Burin refit workers. There are now twelve IAS committees across the province.

Community Development Fund

This fund is directed at economic diversification in designated communities in Newfoundland and Nova Scotia. Advisory committees, called Community Development Committees or something similar, are set up to plan and direct the creation of new economic activity in the community by providing loans or equity investment to new businesses. Community Futures Business Development Centres have in most cases been established at the same time in the area to deliver the funds. Because the Community Development Fund is for one community only, this has in some cases limited the ability to contribute to regional initiatives. Local CDF Committees do not normally include unions, with the notable exception of St. John's, which has also made different arrangements for administration of the fund. Amounts for Newfoundland communities are:

St. John's, $2 million
Gaultois, $5 million
Grand Bank, $6 million
Trepassey, $7 million

Community Futures

Community Futures (CF) is a national EIC program which has established committees in rural communities across the country to stimulate rural business development. It has apparently resulted in a higher rural business start-up rate, according to EIC officials.

One of the CF programs is the Self-Employment Initiative, which provides UI for a one-year period to people starting out in business (provided they are already on UI or Social Assistance). The CF structure is also being used by EIC to administer aspects of its adjustment programs. In some communities, CFC Business Development Centres are administering Community Development Funds and CF or EIC staff at these centres carry out training assessment and counselling of workers eligible for Adjustment Programs. Community Futures Committees also arrange for the purchase of training apart from Adjustment training. The training that they arrange is supposed to be in response to area needs established by the representatives of the CF committees. There is no structural provision for the representation of women per se: the interests of working women would be expressed through a sector organization such as a farm women's association, a craft association (which is usually predominantly women) and possibly an FFAW women's caucus, or a development association. Professional/political women are active on these committees through such organizations as the Chamber of Commerce, town councils, sector associations and development associations.

EIC Training

EIC's new Labour Force Development Strategy is an attempt to focus on training needed in the labour market, as indicated by those involved in the particular industry. More coordinating groups of industry representatives will be set up to facilitate this training, such as one recently created to coordinate professional training for fishermen. Canadian Jobs Strategy programs have 50% more money and will be streamlined into fewer programs with a wider range of eligibility than currently exists.

EIC provides two kinds of training: purchase of seats in institutions, or project-based training. Often the training must first include high school upgrading. One barrier to delivery in the past was literacy, having to arrange for people to become literate before they could even get into a program. EIC can now arrange for upgrading of post-grade eight adults through new federal-provincial agreements, in order to deliver training more effectively: they now have the money and time built in to make this arrangement for their clients. Pre-grade eight is still considered to be the responsibility of the provincial Department of Education.

The training institutions try to give priority to plant workers, and where there is not enough room in a course, EIC can add another class in the institution or set up the course in another location. So far, EIC has not had problems getting people into training courses. Adjustment training provides a "fast track" in that waiting periods are generally shorter. EIC also does some follow-up with trainees, directly and through counsellors at the institutions. If a student finds that a course is not right, EIC can look into "repurchase" of different training for that person. A change is more difficult after completion, however, unless the person will enhance their job prospects by taking more advanced training in the same field.

EIC officials have commented that delays in plant workers taking advantage of training may mean that it will be more difficult as time goes on to accommodate everyone when plants shut down for good. They report that despite the infusion of extra funds from AFAP, they have limited capacity to deal with all the downturns that are occurring in this province, in mining as well as the fishery. They need lead time to arrange for training projects or seats in institutions for a group or individuals.

The FFAW position is that the adjustment training programs are beneficial in providing funds and quicker access to training for workers, but they understand why workers are not coming forward in great numbers: the future of plants is still uncertain, and workers see the prospect of being trained for jobs that are not there. However, the union feels that the skills training and particularly the upgrading are not wasted because they bring advancement into the industry as a whole and they improve people's lives.

Work Sharing Program

This EIC program is good for only one year and requires each person to work part of each week and collect UI benefits for the rest of the week. The FFAW is trying to arrange for people to work every other week, as it would give them somewhat better UI benefits in the event of layoffs or closure later on. Officials say that the UI Act in this regard cannot be easily adapted to the fishing industry.

Plant Workers Adjustment Program

This is an offshoot of the Program for Older Workers, a joint EIC-Labour Canada program funded co-operatively by federal and provincial governments and implemented in many communities across Canada where industries have closed down. There are many problems which are delaying the program's implementation in the fishing industry. The stipend available is 80% of the worker's UI benefits, which is well below what the workers could comfortably live on. It was designed for workers between the ages of 55 and 65, and although a commitment was made to reduce the age to 50, nothing has been worked out yet. Moreover, workers first

have to be laid off to qualify, and since most of those in question are high on the seniority list, there would not be much demand for the program until a plant shuts down for good. Statistics (Table 2) show that women make up a majority of workers in the age category between 45-54 in fish processing but the ratio of female workers drops off substantially in the 55-64 age group. This means that in order for women to benefit as much as men from the older workers program, those 50 and over should be able to participate. The overall feeling about this program seems to be that it is not suited to the fishing industry and that there is little political will to adjust it.

3.5 Summary

A crisis in any industry focuses pressures on productivity, profit margins, health and safety issues and reductions in employment and earnings for individuals and communities. It also introduces proposals for diversification, rationalization and recovery. The impacts of these developments on women is different from men and in many cases the differential impact is substantial. This section has attempted to name some of these areas and point to the sources of the problem which in this case is fundamentally a shortage of the resource. The effects of this are reduced employment and earnings, increased potential for health and safety risks and serious stress on individuals, families and communities.

Government has attempted to respond to this by creating programs aimed at economic diversification and retraining. These resources have been concentrated in deepsea communities where there is a shutdown or proposed closures as well as for trawler workers and Burin Refit workers, the majority of which are male. Few resources have been allocated for inshore communities where work is being eroded and where the majority of workers are female. The structures created to facilitate delivery of adjustment and recovery programs do not include worker or women's representation to any great degree. The issue appears to be predominantly community adjustment rather than worker adjustment. Therefore the programs and training designed tend to be general in nature and may not necessarily benefit women in fish processing. An examination of the Women's Involvement (WIN) committee, a regional women's network in Trinity Bay that was set up in response to threats to employment in inshore plants in that area, could provide some important insights into possible alternative, women-centred development strategies.

4 RESULTS OF THE CASE STUDIES

The changing face of the fishing industry has had considerable impact on women and the communities in which they live. Although the current crises has been predicted for years by fishers and scientists and many others, the effects have only recently been felt directly because of plant closures and downsizing and reductions in the quotas.

Some data in terms of job losses and reduced earnings can be reported from the communities that have been studied while other impacts have been determined from the experiences of women which has been documented but for which there is yet little or no hard data. That is not uncommon in terms of any study on women and work because often the impacts are of a kind that are born from the realities of women's lives that is difficult to quantify.

This section will include findings from the communities of St. John's, Trepassey, Gaultois, Hant's Harbour and Port aux Basques. The impacts will be broken down into categories related to resource shortage, mobility, new processes and adjustment programs. While there is a considerable amount of crossover between these categories the impacts can be generally related to one or more of these issues.

4.1 Impacts as a Result of Resource Shortage

The direct impacts that have resulted due to a shortage of fish and reduced quotas have been:

1) plant closures,
2) the downsizing of plants,
3) fewer and shorter work weeks,
4) issues related to uncertainty of the availability of the raw material and
5) few feasible alternatives to employment.

4.1.1 Plant Closures

In 1989 Fishery Products International announced the closure of plants in Trepassey and Gaultois, at the same time as National Sea announced closure of its plant in St. John's. At that time the plant in St. John's employed approximately 450 people of which 60% were women, the plant in Trepassey had a work force of about 640 people of which 50% were women, and the plant in Gaultois employed about 220 people of which close to 50% were women. After a considerable amount of public outcry National Sea announced that they would downsize the St. John's plant and process shrimp beginning in February 1991. Since then, they have had with problems with financing, resource availability and market prospects. The target date has been moved to October 1991 and even that is uncertain. If the plant does reopen its workforce will be reduced to approximately 220 leaving 230 jobs displaced.

In the meantime, Trepassey and Gaultois have not yet closed. Trepassey is due to close in August of 1991 and Gaultois in May. In the case of these two plants, there is at this time no hope for future operation. In all cases, many women will lose their jobs completely, as will one or more members of their families who

would also have been employed in the plants. The results are devastating to individual and family incomes and to the community as a whole.

4.1.2 Downsizing

Because the plant in St. John's has not yet reopened, it is difficult to assess the final impacts of this downsizing. Since the plant closed in August of 1990 approximately 90 people have moved or found employment elsewhere, over 100 are on training programs and nine or ten have established their own businesses with assistance of the adjustment package. Some women and men are currently working at the plant, most of the work being in discharge, unloading the fish that is being trucked to Arnold's Cove and La Scie.

The plant is scheduled to re-open with about 220 workers on a work sharing arrangement and maybe more if they have a cod line. There is uncertainty about the work sharing arrangement but even if it can be implemented earnings will be reduced. There is also no job security because the work sharing will likely only be temporary (the current program lasts about one year).

Of immediate concern to workers and union is the gap that will occur between the time people's unemployment insurance benefits run out and the date the plant will reopen. If this happens, it is likely that men will more easily find employment elsewhere because they tend to have more transferrable skills. Given a longer time a larger portion of women may end up working in the plant than was originally thought at the time of closure. For everyone in St. John's, the downsizing of the plant has meant an overall loss of earnings and a great deal of uncertainty about their futures and their future level of income.

4.1.3 Fewer Work Weeks

The case of Port aux Basques is probably more typical of the situations in many plants around the province. The plant there has not been targeted for closure or downsizing. Nevertheless, the results of a decade of overfishing, misreporting of catch and inadequate monitoring has meant that the stocks are significantly reduced and no longer migrate inshore, and the traditional inshore fixed gear fishery there has collapsed. The fishery there now is dominated by otter trawlers and Danish seiners fishing midshore and offshore and landing their catches in winter in Port aux Basques. Most of this fleet is from the Northern Peninsula; only five of about one hundred vessels are from the Port aux Basques area itself and a small number are from the Canadian mainland. There is an additional issue here of trucking but that will be discussed in more detail in another section of this report.

The result of this situation is that there are fewer weeks of work. There are 360 people on the seniority list, 250 of whom are women. Last year at this time, there were about 350 working. During one week in March of this year, there were 250 working and management estimated that there would be 200 the following week. Management indicated that about 90% of those working lately are women. The workers were then into their third or fourth week and the union doubted that work would last ten weeks. This means that

workers will have to seek the remaining stamps through the Emergency Response Program (make work projects). The impact on workers is threefold:

1) their incomes are seriously reduced frequently to levels well below the poverty line
2) they have to live with the uncertainty that surrounds not getting enough stamps,
3) make work projects are not considered by themselves or anyone else as legitimate work.

"I made $3,400 at the plant last year. If it hadn't been for my moose licence and my mother, I wouldn't have eaten last year." (female plant worker with children)

Thirteen years ago in Hant's Harbour, there were 540 people on the seniority list, today there are 230 of which 168 are women. Many of the jobs were lost in 1986 when there was a shortage of crab and people had to be laid off. That situation continued for three or four years and consequently many people lost their seniority. For others, the number of weeks has decreased due to a shortage of groundfish and the end of the Resource Short Plant Program. Over the last couple years, people have averaged between 10 and 15 weeks of work. That fluctuates, as last year the trap fishery was excellent, bringing in three times more fish than any year in the past ten years. However, the traditional gill net fishery has totally collapsed and the past ten years has seen a gradual decline in the fishery overall.

In 1989, the Resource Short Plant Program supplied Hant's Harbour with between 7 and 8 weeks of work which decreased in 1990 to 3 weeks and was eliminated in 1991. As well as fewer weeks of work, the weeks are shorter. The weeks people do work range between 16 and 24 hour weeks; if they are really lucky they might get 30, but rarely 40. This means that their unemployment insurance benefits are very low.

While many other plants have not experienced such serious reductions in work weeks, even the large FPI plant in Port Union will have four months down time this year compared to one month plus Christmas season in previous years. Once again the result is reduced annual income.

4.2 Impacts on Shifts Due to Availability of Raw Material

In Port aux Basques women reported problems with the starting time of the night shift. Management, arguing that landings are not predictable, changed the starting time of the shift from 6:00 P.M. to 8:00 P.M. Consequently, the late start of the night shift is a hardship to women and children as they are going without sleep if they can not arrange for child care in the day or, if they can arrange child care, it doubles the cost. This is causing a considerable amount of fatigue and stress. When the shift ended earlier, there was a chance to sleep before the children got up in the morning.

In the Bareneed crab plant (largely women), the same situation was reported. There, because management could not predict the catch that would be coming in, collective agreement regulations concerning call back notice had to be waived. Shifts are getting less predictable, and there is less notice time before the shift begins. In both examples, the need for employment has made workers vulnerable to demands of management and violations of their collective agreement.

4.3 Impacts on Workers, Families and Communities

Whether the shortage of the fish stocks results in plant closures, downsizing or in reduced work weeks some impacts are common to all situations. These fall into the general categories of impacts to home life, impacts related to community life, lack of feasible alternatives, and differential impact on women.

4.3.1 Home Life

Loss of jobs and the uncertainty about jobs and income levels were reported by many informants to be causing stress at home. People are discouraged about job prospects, are experiencing serious financial stress and are unable to provide for their children. People are unable to provide lunches for their children to take to school and generally do not have money to eat properly. The Ministerial Association in Port aux Basques is starting to collect food for a food bank. The Women's Centre was considering what role it should play in this. Although the RNC and Social Services said on CBC that there was no increase in family violence in Port aux Basques, members of the women's community reported a different story. Women with connections to the Women's Centre, Transition House and the Single Moms Centre, said that there either was an increase in family violence or that they expected it as a delayed reaction when hope runs out. There is an increase in students reporting depression to teachers and counsellors.

In Hant's Harbour, as well, people spoke of great family stress due to economic uncertainties. They told of increases in family violence, nervous breakdowns, depression, family breakdown and downtime due to illness.

> *Women don't name abuse until they are battered to a point of not being able to walk. There is a quiet conspiracy to maintain silence about this, but it is definitely on the increase here.*

4.3.2 Community Life

Of the communities studied, the effects of the plant closure on the community is most severe in Gaultois. There is little or no possibility for economic diversification in the small island community if the plant does not exist. The people there see resettlement as the only alternative. The Industrial Adjustment Committee reported numerous inquiries about economic assistance in resettlement by those who saw no hope.

In other communities plant closure or downsizing means a considerable amount of outmigration. Men and young people leave to seek employment elsewhere, uprooting families and breaking family ties. Serious outmigration erodes any community's sense of itself, erodes the support systems upon which people rely and exhibits many of the same dynamics characterizing family breakdown. There is loss of hope and certainly loss of any sense of pride in the community.

> *"They've taken everything from us -- the railway, the fishery, now our hospital and maybe the community college. There's nothing left unless they want to come and take up the pavement."* (female employee in Port aux Basques)

Yet another effect on the community is the divisions that are drawn between community members -- those who have jobs and income and those who do not. Informants made the comparison between those who

were concerned about the high cost of sending their children away to university as compared to those who worried about not having enough money to provide food for their children. In two of the communities there were indications that the employment losses and sudden influx of diversification funds had created factions and further highlighted existing class and political differences.

One respondent also spoke of the stress of young people in school. According to teachers in that community, there is an increase in the willingness of parents to have their children leave school. Young people are leaving school in increasing numbers, it seems, to earn money.

> *No sense of dream...it's a community without a dream or individuals who are willing to dream. This hasn't been replaced with pragmatic planning - just dull acceptance.* Hant's Harbour

The effects on the Newfoundland economy of the downturn in the fishery is in turn felt in small communities through cutbacks. Present cutbacks, which in part may be attributed to the crises in the fishery, to hospitals, service sectors, and education are of serious concern to rural communities. One male respondent pointed out that, in his opinion, these disproportionally affect women and the elderly.

4.3.3 Lack of Feasible Alternatives

It needs to be stated that with the possible exception of St. John's, loss of employment and loss of income leaves these workers in rural areas with few, if any, feasible alternatives. The details of training and economic diversification programs will be discussed in detail later in this chapter but, generally speaking, for the greater percentage of these women there are few alternatives other than social assistance, make work projects or low paying jobs. On average, the education level of female plant workers is about grade nine which limits future prospects. Although diversification may provide other avenues of employment to some, it is highly unlikely that the number of jobs created by the fishery can possibly be replaced. Fish is the primary natural resource of this province. Upgrading and re-training are unquestionably valuable to the worker but unless that re-training leads to employment, it is not an alternative.

4.3.4 Differential Impact on Women

As is evident from the previous discussion, the impacts that are unique to women are difficult to point to in terms of hard data. The large percentage of workers displaced are women, many of whom have responsibilities for the care of children and the elderly as well as a home. When large scale unemployment occurs in a community many of the hardships are disproportionately borne by women. One male informant said, "This falls back on women, they have to pull things together." When there is not enough money, not enough food, when times are hard, when the community is in difficulty, women seem to be closer to immediate survival issues than men. If employment is available outside the community, traditionally men in Newfoundland have gone away to work. This is one of the alternatives that has a double impact on women who do not have this choice; not only have they lost their job, but they are also left to bear the burden of a household. Some informants also mentioned hearing discussions in the community that only one member of the household should be allowed to work and that many women would be reluctant to seek a job that a man

would be seeking. In Port aux Basques, as elsewhere, when there is intense competition for jobs, these tend not to be accessible to women.

Only one respondent (male) was very clear that women suffer disproportionally as a result of hard times in the fishery because they 1) are substantive bread winners and worry constantly whether or not they will get their stamps and how much they will be and 2) they tend to carry the burden when there is an increase in family tensions.

Women bear the brunt, physically or emotionally, of the frustration when it peaks.

4.4 Impacts Related to Issues of Mobility

The consequences of transfer of quota or trucking from one plant to another are very similar to those presented in the previous section on resource shortage - closures, downsizing and reduction in employment and earnings. When the plant in Gaultois closes on May 24, FPI will leave, taking with it its quota of redfish. In 1989, over 8 million pounds of redfish were processed in Gaultois mostly from the 3PS, 4VWX, 4RST zones. These quotas have not been reduced, so the issue here is not primarily resource shortage but transfer of quota. A large portion of the redfish formerly processed in Gaultois will now be processed in Harbour Breton and Fortune. It is more economically efficient to add a redfish line to these plants and maybe to others than to maintain a single redfish operation in Gaultois. The benefits to the company are obviously considerable but the effects on the community are devastating.

In Port aux Basques, the issue is around the trucking of the raw material, caught in zones adjacent to the community and landed there, to other communities. A similar situation occurs in St. John's where fish are landed and trucked to Arnold's Cove and La Scie. In both communities, workers have responded with anger that escalated into violence. The concentration of processing in certain geographic areas is beneficial to the company but certainly not to the communities which lose their access to what traditionally has been their fish. Once again there is a loss of jobs and community disintegration.

4.5 Impacts of New Processes

As the existence of plants are threatened due to reductions in quotas, many companies are moving into secondary processing, processing of underutilized or undercommercialized species, and the production of value added products. This is a relatively recent development and so it is difficult to document any hard evidence in terms of impacts. Nevertheless, the study did reveal areas of concern that point to potential impacts. These fall into the general categories of 1) automation, 2) health risks, and 3) markets.

4.5.1 Automation

The obvious concern with automation is in terms of job displacement. There was little or no available data on this from the communities we studied. In St. John's, the shrimp plant will be highly automated but it is not yet open and there is nothing with which to compare it. In St. John's, management told us that the shrimp lines would be highly automated, would operate at a considerable rate of speed and would continue

through breaks and lunch hour. The manager identified one consequence of this as being monotony for workers just watching the machinery. Depending on the speed, another potential concern is with stress levels.

As processing becomes more automated in order to be cost efficient, less and less skill and direct involvement in the process is required. Workers can take pride in being a good cutter or trimmer but the degree of job satisfaction that can be derived from watching machines is minimal. Job satisfaction is not measurable but it is a important aspect of any work environment.

4.5.2 Health Risks

In Bareneed, an informant spoke about recurring respiratory problems experienced by people working in the crab plant. While investigations into this are not yet complete, the suggestion is that these problems are being caused by gases escaping in the cooking. New leg and tip rollers have also been causing a lot of injuries. No studies have been done here on repetitive strain injuries related to new processes but there may be new injuries related to this work that are not covered by Workers Compensation.

As employment opportunities decline, risks to health and safety may be taken in order to ensure employment.

4.5.3 Markets

There is a much lower sales margin for most other species compared to cod. The markets for species other than groundfish have not been developed and while these are being explored it will take considerable time to replace the 100 million pounds of groundfish that were lost due to quota cuts. In addition, in many other species there is a problem of parasites that also affects markets. Current management in Port aux Basques is not interested in secondary processing saying that it requires too much in the way of extra financial and marketing resources and that these markets are very hard to break into. While secondary processing may be offered as a solution to downsizing processing, the future is very tentative.

In Hant's Harbour, there are three plants under one roof. One processes groundfish from about May until September, another processes crab from April until October, and the specialty kitchen (which began in 1971) operates year round. Workers can rotate through all three areas, although the workers in the specialty kitchen tend to be fairly regular. This undoubtedly allows for more flexibility in enabling workers to get more weeks of work. The specialty kitchen produces cod au gratin, fish sticks, fish cakes, cod sauces, and breaded items as well as canned products. It employs about 12 people, of which 7 are women and 5 are men. The manager told us that the margin of profit in things such as fish sticks and fish cakes was small because the market is so competitive. The profit margin of some of the other products which might be considered luxury items is somewhat higher. The presence of such a line of production helps with plant costs and provides some stable employment but the profits are marginal. It was also the opinion of this manager that while secondary processing may be beneficial to a plant, it is only marginally so and cannot replace the lost revenues from the shortage of groundfish.

New processes and new product development certainly holds potential for diversification within the fishery but it is very costly for processors and uncertain in terms of markets. For processors and workers alike this may hold some long term possibilities but it does not provide any immediate response to the present crises.

4.6 Impacts of the Adjustment Programs and Government Regulations

Details of the various components of the adjustment package and the web of related vehicles through which these programs are delivered has been described in the previous chapter. This section will deal primarily with the Industrial Adjustment Committees, the Community Diversification Committees and training for each case study.

4.6.1 Industrial Adjustment Committees

Under the Atlantic Fisheries Adjustment Program, the town of Gaultois received $7.7 million dollars in the industrial adjustment package. The Industrial Adjustment Committee was established in January, 1990 and consists of representatives from the union, FPI, the town and the provincial and federal governments. The Committee surveyed employees to determine training needs, developed an employee computer database to track employee training and job placement and arranged for training. They produced a newsletter, provided business counselling, developed a business plan for the redfish processing facility, explored possible new markets for redfish and lobbied for a redfish quota. In addition, they also petitioned for a new roll-on roll-off ferry between Gaultois and Hermitage which they see as essential to the full operation of the plant. While this Committee continues to function, the body of its work has been completed having set in place all the mechanisms to assist the community in adjusting to the announced closure of its plant. As designed, this is the primary function of these committees.

The town of Trepassey received $22 million under the same program and set up its IAS Committee in January, 1990 with representatives from the town, the union and FPI, and advisors from EIC, Labour and Employment Services and Avalon Community College. Several private consultants were also engaged to assist the Committee in its activities. In its first year of operation, the Committee assessed training and business development needs in the community and worked on trying to find other operators for the plant facilities. The Committee commissioned a study which outlined options for the use of the plant, including species mix, and a plan of action for finding an operator. The Committee met with prospective operators, lobbied government and prepared a profile of the town and the plant for promotional use. They also hired a consultant to help in plant search and to encourage local business development.

In St. John's, $11 million was received in the industrial adjustment package. This committee is made up of representatives from plant management, the union, and federal and provincial officials. The Committee's functions have been to arrange for training for workers; lobby for and set up the funding for the Southside Development Corporation which controls the CDF funds; arrange for bridge funding until these funds were available; and track the training and employment progress of plant workers. This Committee also sees its work as being essentially completed.

In the three cases mentioned above, the IAS Committees were created in response to the announcements that the plants in these communities were going to close. Essentially their role was to assist communities in making that adjustment and be the vehicle for co-ordinating whatever developments were necessary to fulfil that mandate. Their two main areas were in economic diversification which was achieved through the establishment of more permanent Community Development Committees, and in putting in place training programs for displaced workers. In the case of Port aux Basques, the situation is quite different.

In Port aux Basques, the Industrial Adjustment Committee was established when the railway was removed to assist the community to adjust to that loss. Its life was due to end in May of this year but has been extended until November. Presently the Committee has a community based membership consisting of inshore and otter trawl/seiner fishermen, joint municipal Fishermen's Committees, plant workers (union and non-union) and plant processors. The main activities of this IAS include identifying development issues, lobbying, and proposing training. They also commissioned the Tavel Report on the Southwest Coast stocks. The work of this Committee is made more difficult because there is a wide range of workers affected who are geographically dispersed, and there are no definite fish plant closures on which to focus, but rather a serious decline in the industry in general.

4.6.2 Community Development Committees or Corporations

Gaultois received $5 million in community development funds and the Community Development Committee was established by the IAS. The main function of this CDC has been to search for another operator for the plant. They have explored many options, including management by the town, formation of a cooperative and search for an operator from outside, the latter being the favoured option. The community will take possession of the plant and continue to seek an operator. There are several interested parties but the major obstacle remains the lack of quota. The community has applied for a redfish quota of 10,000 metric tonnes and has submitted a detailed proposal of possible zones from which the quota might be taken. To date, they have made no progress with DFO. Because economic diversification is not possible for Gaultois without the existence of the plant, the focus of this CDC has been fairly singular.

In Trepassey, the Community Development Committee was established to administer the $7 million received in community development funds. The Trepassey CDC consists of representatives of local councils and businesses but no union representation. Its work is carried out by staff at the Business Development Centre (BDC), which is also now delivering the business development option of the Southern Avalon Community Futures Committee. The CDC's mandate is to attract outside businesses, and develop local ones. From the initial IAS survey, over a third of those interested in business mentioned retail activity (including food services) with smaller proportions interested in servicing/repair, tourism, crafts, agriculture and child care and similar services. Most of the local business activity is in the developmental stage, for example, the women who are training to go into custom dressmaking. People are still unsure of their ability to acquire the necessary business skills, and there are few examples from which to draw ideas in terms of local small scale enterprises.

Several individuals who have worked within the EIC structure and other agencies to stimulate local enterprise are aware of the need for a pro-active approach which helps people gain the confidence and skills to come up with their own enterprise ideas and follow them through. The Women's Enterprise Bureau model for getting women involved in economic activity is a practical and innovative approach which appears to be working, but which is constrained by the available resources.

Some local ideas are being worked on currently by development groups and agencies such as Community Futures and ENL, including adventure tourism and animal husbandry with secondary processing. These have possibilities for directed training for people in the area with the prospect of local employment at the end. The BDC also tries to be pro-active, but reports very little response and no differences between men and women in this regard.

One of the factors holding people back from getting involved in business is the conviction that the plant will re-open. If the plant does not re-open, or does so with a reduced labour force, there will be much more demand for training and business assistance. The CDC has so far had more success in attracting a small number of light manufacturing firms (average 8-10 employees).

St. John's received $2 million in development funds and the Southside Workers Development Corporation was established to administer it. This CDC was set up quite differently from the others in that it was designated by the IAS and the union to serve only plant workers who want to go into small business. The company must be 50% owned by former plant workers to qualify: the corporation does not assist businesses set up by others even if they intend to hire plant workers. There is no storefront office, but the corporation makes use of a part time consultant and the YMCA Enterprise Centre to assist in developing business plans and guiding the owners through the first three years of operation. Much of the work has been in the area of confidence building, convincing people that they do not have to become accountants to run a business. They are encouraged to take business courses that do not give too much information too soon, as this has been overwhelming in the past. After the initial assessment, the business is provided with equity capital with a three year grace period before payback begins.

To date, nine such businesses have been established with SWDC funds, four by women and five by men although some involve husband and wife partnerships. The businesses include a convenience store (owned by a woman employing at least one former plant worker employee), a paint contractor (started by a woman who used to paint in the plant and her painter husband), heating ventilation (one woman, several men), air duct cleaning (one man), stone masonry/marble works (husband and wife team), bed and breakfast (one woman), and two agricultural/ husbandry enterprises. A proposal to set up a bottled water plant at a former brewery, employing 30 displaced workers, was directed to other sources because the owners were not plant workers.

In Port aux Basques, the Community Diversification Corporation was set up by the Roads for Rails program in the late 1980s and received $7 million to compensate for the removal of the railway. The Corporation has taken ownership of the fish plant and arranged for the former operators to continue in that role

to give them time to develop a divestiture plan. Connors Brothers has left its equipment in the plant and manage production and marketing for a fee. The CDC added additional equipment. Many past attempts at inviting in outside businesses have not been successful and almost all of them have folded. The "incubator mall" which was set up to house this new industrial development is now concentrating more on local business opportunities including crafts and other enterprises which would likely attract more women.

4.6.3 UIC Regulations

A number of changes in the unemployment insurance regulations were introduced as a result of the passage of Bill C-21 in 1990. Because of their concentration in seasonal and part-time work and in more marginal sectors of the labour force, these changes will be particularly damaging for female workers in poorer provinces such as Newfoundland and Labrador, particularly in the fishery. Longer qualifying periods and shorter periods of eligibility will make it more difficult for some plant workers to draw UI. The elimination of federal support to the UI system means that in future, all benefits must be paid for out of employer/employee contributions. Higher premiums as a consequence and a possible move towards industry-based premiums, as exist in Worker's Compensation, could threaten many other jobs. Access to UI in seasonal plants has also been undermined by tighter policing of the practice of "banking hours" in order to maximize UI earnings. This practice played an important role in preserving employment and maximizing low incomes in marginal plants and reflects the marginality of women's incomes and employment opportunities in many communities (Neis and Porter, 1991). Some of the federal contributions to UI have been diverted into training programs to which, MacDonald and Connelly (1990) argue in their study of women in the Nova Scotia fishery, women in rural, isolated communities will have little access. A 1988 CCLOW review of existing training programs also found that very few significant initiatives existed that were designed to help poor women with low education levels, who are disabled, or who live in geographically isolated areas. As our statistical overview suggests, women in the fishery are likely to be characterized by many of these disadvantages. There are also other problems with these programs as they have traditionally been administered.

4.6.4 Training

A key component in EIC training is the Canada Jobs Strategy (CJS) programs. Two key goals of the CJS programs were to tie job training more closely to the needs of the private sector and to move job training out of educational institutions into the private sector. Since the programs were established, women have tended to be concentrated in the job entry/re-entry categories. A key assumption of these programs is the assumption of 'transition to work'. They are geared to those who have worked at home or in school and assume such people require a period of transition and some special services to help them enter/re-enter the labour force. A general shortcoming with this approach is that it tends to focus on supply rather than demand-side factors. It is assumed that people are unemployed because they lack suitable skills rather than their unemployment reflects the impact of demand (Chegwidden, 1991). If these are the assumptions that inform the training program offered to female fishplant workers, it is obvious that there are some major problems. First, their unemployment/underemployment reflects changes in the demand side and secondly, they are neither new entrants nor re-entering. If the effectiveness of these programs is judged, as they traditionally are, by the percentage of women who get jobs after these programs there are some obvious problems. Unless they have

been rethought, they are probably somewhat inappropriate for these workers. In addition, the opportunities for employment for women with traditional women's skills in these communities is very constrained. These realities mean that many of those trained will not get jobs. The unwillingness of many plantworkers to take training and their continued allegiance to the survival of their plants may well reflect their realistic assessment of their short-term options.

In Newfoundland and Labrador, most of the CJS training programs are offered through the community college system, although some are also offered through private colleges and a few through nonprofit agencies such as W.I.S.E. (Women Interested in Successful Employment) in St. John's and Women's Centres. These nonprofit and women-centred agencies have tended, however, to sponsor relatively few of the programs elsewhere. The same situation predominates here. In communities such as Port aux Basques and St. John's, that have community college campuses and other educational institutions, access to such programs is greater than for women in communities without similar facilities. Single women can travel to these programs but this is more difficult for married women with children.

Although not all of these agencies are private, all must compete for CJS programs. Elsewhere, this competitiveness has tended to result in a practice of "creaming," i.e. accepting those trainees most likely to complete programs and favouring any job placement over none (Chegwidden, 1991). In rural, isolated fishing communities where their future is dependent upon innovative and creative new employment alternatives linked to their rural economies, this conservatism within training programs will act as a barrier to innovation rather than encouraging it. Finally, it is often the case that employers with female trainees will use them to do traditional jobs often unrelated to those areas for which they are being trained. Proper supervision of such programs is thus essential.

Special efforts need to be made to ensure programs incorporate those with skills that are defined as marginal in communities without fishplants (female plantworkers) and special efforts also need to be made to encourage women to enter nontraditional occupations. Our findings on the communities we looked at suggest that whereas in Port au Basques, there is at least some effort to move women into nontraditional areas, this has been less true of Trepassey. The St. John's program also seems to have been more effective than that in Trepassey. It would be interesting to explore in greater depth the extent and causes of these differences.

There are also some important shortcomings with the women-centred programs, such as W.I.S.E., that do exist. The W.I.S.E. program is at least 18 weeks in length and includes, significantly, experience and observation in workplaces. Such a program would seem to be particularly appropriate for female plantworkers. Unfortunately, it is currently only available in St. John's and. In addition, its length and the fact that the UI clock keeps ticking while women are in the program mean that women must choose between using their UI period for this kind of lengthy program without necessarily being sure of a job when they finish or taking shorter-term training programs such as Personal Care Attendant that are more focused on them acquiring particular skills in traditional, low-paid women's jobs and accessible in their communities. Given the particular problems confronting the women in this study, some thought should be given to offering programs similar to

W.I.S.E. outside of St. John's but also letting the UI clock stop while women are in these more general, exploratory programs. If women do decide, as a consequence of W.I.S.E. training, that they want to move in new directions, barriers they will encounter in seeking post-secondary education need to be reduced.

Single mothers make up an unknown but significant percentage of female fishplant workers in some communities. One reason for their involvement with fishplant work is that, particularly in unionized plants, such work has provided better incomes than are available in other types of jobs open to women in their communities. Another reason is the high rate of teenage birth in rural Newfoundland and Labrador and the limited employment alternatives women with lower levels of formal education confront in rural communities. Should these women decide to pursue post-secondary education, they will not be eligible for unemployment insurance while they are fulltime students at university. Single mothers on social assistance will have their student loans deducted from their social assistance payments. This discourages them from pursuing education and training that could ultimately provide them with incomes adequate to support their families (Whitaker, 1991). Married women are also discouraged by a policy that requires those who apply for student assistance to report family income. It is assumed that their husbands are willing to pay for their education which may not be the case. As argued by Thomson and Copland (1988), "Using individual rather than family income to determine eligibility for student assistance would be a more realistic approach for most women. Raising the ceiling on costs for essentials such as child care is a necessity."

Female plantworkers and fishers and wives of fishers most affected by the transformations that are taking place in the fishery need to be actively involved in the variety of response programs that have been set up if these are to meet their needs. A failure to design programs with women's needs in mind will directly affect their access to and ability to benefit from such programs. In addition, however, it will also indirectly contribute to a well-documented tendency, some traces of which we discovered in our research, in communities confronted with competition for scarce resources to limit access to one program/job per household with the assumption being the household member who most needs it is the male "head" of household. If these programs are to protect women's economic independence, an effort must be made to eliminate any formal or informal mechanisms that might screen out women. These include such practices as basing access on household income rather than individual income, assuming women have a "man" to take care of them, and that households with two incomes don't require both to meet their needs adequately (Gregory, 1987).

Trepassey

The IAS Committee and the union training subcommittee worked through the Canada Employment Centre (CEC) and the Community College to profile education, skills and interests of workers. A questionnaire was mailed out to 640 workers and about 50% responded. Community College staff then conducted personal interview and counselling sessions with 300 workers to determine training and business support needs in greater detail. The IAS Committee arranged for a business education seminar to be held in the community. They also looked at training needs that might arise from alternate uses for the plant or from other economic activity that might locate in the area.

Only two groups of plant workers are eligible for assistance with training: those on the seniority list, and part-time and casual workers. Special permission had to be obtained by local EIC officials to purchase training for the latter group. An important group of young people are left out, those whose parents have worked in the plant and may now find it difficult to support their children in post-secondary education or training. Many of the parents, especially women, have come to EIC officials saying that they don't want anything for themselves because they see no future in it, but would the government please take their son or daughter instead. If the young person has worked little or no time in the plant, there is absolutely nothing that officials can do.

By the end of April, 1991, 147 people have been placed in training, 54 women (30 single, 24 married) and 93 men. The largest concentration is in Adult Basic Training (15 women, 20 men). This course can be put on in the area and will continue to be in demand as more people come forward. Women coming for training have had slightly lower educational levels than men, so there will probably continue to be a large proportion of female trainees starting with this course. Women predominate in the Personal Care Attendant course (7 female, 1 male) which can also be put on in the local area. Most of the other institutional training courses must be taken in St, John's, at Cabot or Avalon Community College because of the difficulty and expense of moving the courses. Six women (no men) are in the Nursing Assistant course, and two are taking the Nursing Refresher course. For these, and the seven doing Personal Care Attendant course, there is some possibility of gaining work at the area nursing home or in home care, but the work will be low paid, likely less than half of what they earned in plant work. Some of the Personal Care Attendant graduates will go on to take the Teacher Aide Course, which will give them more employment options. However this course lasts past the plant opening date in June, so that some will opt for work at the plant instead.

There are about 22 taking courses that are traditional female occupations: secretarial, teller, food administration, early childhood development, dressmaking and hairstyling, as well as computers and accounting. One is signed up for photography and one for business management. There are no women signed up for the construction related and industry related trades. The lower level of interest here relative to Port aux Basques and St. John's (where there are very small numbers in some of these categories of training) may be explained partly by fewer job prospects (for either gender) in the local area.

The construction related trades are more likely to take people out of their communities for months at a time, and better suit the common rural pattern for men but would drastically alter a woman's situation regarding household responsibilities. However, some informants stressed that both men and women are unsure of what to do at this point. They are still hoping that the plant will remain open and have been reluctant to come forward for training. Many of those that do express preference for low-wage employment in the area rather than relocation are women, and the men who are taking training outside of the area are single.

A group of women will be taking a tailoring/dressmaking course after which they intend to do custom work for a St. John's clientele. This sort of activity is feasible for women in the area because it makes use

of existing skills and they can work out of their homes, going into town once or twice a week which they would normally do anyway.

The barriers for women taking training in St. John's relate partly to the difficulty in leaving families for long periods. Although some women commute daily, most stay in town during the week. Allowances are given either for commuting costs or for maintaining a separate household as well as subsidies for child care. A considerable barrier exists for women and men in that they are unfamiliar not only with the training experience but also with the urban environment. If they need upgrading, they are encouraged to take this in the local area to get their bearings before coming into town for more training.

EIC must make requisitions now for training in the fall and have sent out notices to plant workers indicating that they had to commit themselves now for training in September. The IAS Committee has set as a high priority the need to inform people of the importance of getting trained.

St. John's

The main benefit of this program, as elsewhere, is the ability to "fast track" plant workers into programs that would normally take longer to get into. As in other places, much of the training is in the area of upgrading, but some has been in skills training. Whether this training will result in employment remains to be seen.

The St. John's group are in a better situation to take advantage of training in that they are within commuting distance. Also, the plant has been closed since last summer, making it more definite in people's lives.

The plant closed August 5, and by November there were 130 people in training, 77 in skilled trades and 53 in upgrading (Adult Basic Education) and/or Career Exploration for Women/Youth. There are about 80 additional people interested in taking courses in the near future.

EIC is now arranging funds for more training seats in September for some of the 53 and other interested workers. Most of the courses are at Cabot Institute and Avalon Community College St. John's campus. So far, EIC has not had problems getting people into training courses: as in other locations, when a course is already full and they have enough students, they have set up additional classes.

There were 18 women enroled in the WISE program, which is a program involving career exploration, student assessment, upgrading if necessary, job finding skills and work orientation sessions (including non-traditional jobs). About half of the group has gone to further training, and most of the remainder are still in the program.

The largest number of trainees are in the Nursing Assistant course (14 female, 10 male) and the Personal Care Attendant course (16 female). Before taking these courses, candidates had an orientation session

with professionals which gave them an idea of what and where the employment prospects were, but unfortunately, these two occupations are in transition, and people are waiting to see what the prospects will be.

Other trainees are spread out over a wide range of programs, with a fairly typical gender breakdown, although our data from EIC was incomplete. Categories such as medical and computer support/secretarial, lab technician, beauty culture and the like are still predominantly female. A very small number of the female plant workers have gone into motor vehicle repair, meatcutting, basic electronics and other non-traditional jobs. Computer studies is mixed. Courses such as power engineering, carpentry, bricklaying and heavy equipment operator are predominantly male.

Port aux Basques

EIC officials said that they arranged $4.5 million for the first fiscal year and used $3 million on short-term training, literacy program, upgrading and skills training. The remaining money "slipped" back into general EIC revenue and will not be available for next year.

In March 1990, the local IAS Committee and EIC arranged for the Community College to conduct a survey and needs assessment of people in the fishery. The survey found that 55% of the respondents had less than grade eight education, and that 75% of the households were double income families.

Community Futures has hired two Educational Placement counsellors who will be recruiting people mainly for upgrading focusing on those who want out of the fishery, and those who are being forced out of the fishery.

Most people from the fishery need to do ABE first and will need to continue with skills training. The IAS and other organizations will have to lobby for more money as the demand for training increases.

Training planned, underway or recently completed:

PLATO computerised literacy and numeracy program in 3 communities. There are about 68 people committed so far, 75% plant workers. You need a grade six reading level to do PLATO.

Adult Basic Education, at the campus and some communities.

Duffle making and design, Codroy Valley.

Machine knitting, a group being trained for home-based work for a local businesswoman.

Career Opportunities for Youth courses in three communities.

Welding and structural fitting.
Pipefitting
Non destructive testing (welding)

Business education [secretarial]
Diesel mechanics
Fishing master

Welding and similar courses are directed at supplying an anticipated expansion of local marine welding and fabrication activity. Female participation is high, and females in training tend to have higher education levels than men. A frequently heard statement by middle class and working class women was that if you want a non-traditional job there will be a place made for you.

Many informants pointed out that increased access to these non-traditional jobs will not solve the problem for most women. Offshore jobs are not appropriate for those who cannot leave their families for the required length of working time. At the same time, there are not enough serious courses offered for women.

The Women's Enterprise Bureau indicated that they would like to see more business courses besides the existing one, which is basically secretarial science. They want more business management and use of computers, the entrepreneurship program available at many community college campuses including Stephenville. However, it is possible to do MUN business courses at night through distance education, and correspondence courses from other provinces are also available.

The IAS Committee proposed more training than EIC would approve. In the case of PLATO, they fought to get the three chosen. They also proposed a list of fishery and non-fishery courses as well as entrepreneurial skills training, which EIC cut by about 60%. Whereas EIC felt that the PLATO response did not warrant the expense, the Chairperson felt that they got caught up in short-term projects to the detriment of long-term training.

It appears from the IAS list of courses that some which were not approved would have contributed to small-scale development and been accessible or attractive to more people. These include:

- Food technology
- Secondary processing
- Aquaculture
- Entrepreneurial skills
- Tourism
- Farming
- Local crafts

Officials explained that the money was not used because people in the fishery were reluctant to commit themselves to training for various reasons, a major one being fear of losing seniority. Union representatives said that it was not fear of losing seniority per se, but of losing livelihood for the whole year. If training coincides with the period when the plant is open, they would not only lose weeks of work but also seniority

which translates into potential weeks of work (people high on the list get more weeks). If the training coincides with Emergency Response job creation projects after the plant closes, they would be ineligible for unemployment insurance to take them through the year. People are reluctant to risk loss of income and fear going on social assistance.

A number of people from different organizations maintained that there was not enough time to use the training money in the fiscal year when it was available. The IAS was formed in June and July. The first training programs were from August to November, which did not allow much time for assessment and recruitment. Then the money "slipped" by the end of March. EIC was in effect expecting people to leave the winter fishery when that was their most likely source of income, however unstable.

Many informants wanted the training, job creation and UI structure to be reformed and more flexible: a more coordinated approach with built-in incentives, instead of the disincentives existing now; something to deal with immediate need for income as well as fulfilling long-term objectives. Some thought that there should be a way to enable plant workers to turn the make-work projects into training in which they would still be eligible for UI, or to do training when they are not in the middle of the working season.

> *"These programs have to be more coordinated, answer to people's real needs and be in step with the seasonal work pattern."*

> *"The programs look good but there are traps. People do not want to risk losing UI so they miss out on training. When people go on welfare after losing their jobs, they will not take a chance and get a student loan to go to school, because the provincial government considers this as income. Then they cannot support their families. Every move people make, there's a mountain in the way. It encourages people to stay on welfare or UI."*

Many informants said that women face a particular barrier to training in having primary responsibility for household and children, needing money to survive, with less freedom to try training on speculation. However, men have this concern as well.

Gaultois

The workers in Gaultois, continuing to hold onto hopes of the reopening of the plant, did not avail of the training possibilities in large numbers. More than thirty plant workers did receive indepth employment counselling. Fourteen employees were placed in training seats in centres around the province. The majority were in the heavy equipment operator course. Almost all of these were male largely because it was easier for them to travel to do training. One course in WordPerfect and Lotus was delivered in Gaultois that involved two women and eight men, mostly from the plant administration. This was a course in the field of computer software applications. As closure date draws near more and more applications for training are being made.

4.6.5 Summary

Overall, these government adjustment programs received various comments from respondents. These comments ranged from "good for training", "lots of money" to "no political will behind it", "includes very little new money". The reviews and assessments are definitely mixed. The following comments will be made from the perspective of women with an assessment of how they include women in terms of creation and decision making and how this in turn impacts on the lives of women where they live and work.

The committees (both IAS and CDC) are structured in very traditional ways which usually include those who already hold office on other community organizations. These tend often to be male dominated and the same would seem to hold true for these committees (See Appendix 3). The committees tend to be structured to make decisions for displaced workers or for the community rather than with workers or members of the community.

In the case of training, genuine efforts were made in the three communities targeted for closure to meet individual needs in terms of training. The additional benefit is the fast tracking of these courses so that immediate needs can be met. In Port aux Basques, which would be more representative of the state of the industry, the training was open to and encouraged women to enter into non-traditional occupations, but this is not the case everywhere and needs to be promoted. However, the majority of courses were not geared to the skills or interests of women or for local employment which is essential for many women with children.

Pre-employment and skills training needs to be made more accessible to women living in isolated areas who cannot travel to community colleges or training centres.

An essential component for allowing women to enter training programs is the need for greater flexibility and the removal of barriers which prevent them from enroling. Two crucial areas seem to be around the regulations for drawing UI benefits and Social Assistance.

The Industrial Adjustment Committees are a fairly effective vehicle for dealing with the immediate needs of a community where there is closure of an industry. These committees are structured to mobilize key players to make decisions,and to put in place the infrastructure for recovery. They are not really a very effective vehicle however, for a community that is experiencing a gradual decline in an industry as would be the case in most Newfoundland communities. A different vehicle with similar powers and resources is needed before closure occurs and is essential for inshore fishing communities.

Community Diversification Committees that are created out of the IAS are concerned with community recovery. While this is unquestionably necessary in any community where one industry provides the economic base for the community, there seemed to be little evidence that attempts at economic diversification included serious attention to the workers that are displaced. The questions seem to revolve around what kind of industry can replace the failed one that will bring economic recovery to the community rather than provide employment for the workers. As in the cases of Trepassey and Port aux Basques, it is not uncommon for the community

to invite a variety of companies to locate in their area. These have often been failed efforts when they have not been community based.

For the communities that had plants targeted to close, these structures worked efficiently and quickly and only time will tell how effective they have been. There remains a very serious need to have these kind of programs more participatory, consultative with not only the community and its present resources but also with the workers and their skills.

5 SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Perhaps one of the most striking findings from our research was what it revealed about the lack of awareness/concern about the impact of the fisheries crisis on women on the part of those responsible for responding to it. As this report shows, inadequacies associated with data collection within government make it difficult to track the impact of the crisis on women. While some of those interviewed were sympathetic to our concerns about women, they commented that women's involvement in the fishery and the impact of the crisis had not been looked at systematically. More often, members of government and response committees in the affected communities could not relate to a request for information on women. Silence was a common response. When leaders did respond, they tended to argue that their programmes did not make distinctions between individuals, a response that misses the well-documented reality that occupational segregation, the wage gap, and women's responsibility for work in the home mean that, as a group, they will be affected differently than men by the kinds of changes that are occurring in the fishery. In Gaultois, members of the all-male industrial adjustment committee referred us to women in the community who had nothing to do directly with the fishery or with the adjustment programme. We were told by a member of the Maritime Fishermen's Union that in adjustment committees in Nova Scotia, when the loss of women's jobs has been explicitly discussed, the discussion has inevitably treated this as a loss to the community rather than particular women. This implies that job creation programmes that add new jobs to the community, irrespective of who gets these jobs, will reduce the loss. This assumption overlooks the importance of economic independence for women's well-being, the well-documented requirement of households with incomes as low as those associated with fish processing for multiple incomes, and the fact that the majority of women in Newfoundland and Labrador now work or want to work for pay. The failure to identify the fishery crisis as a threat to women's as well as men's paid work, and the failure to design response programmes so that they reflect women's needs has increased the probability that women will suffer more from the crisis, with fewer options for recovery than men. As studies on women and education have shown, gender differences mean that if training programmes are to minimally involve women as much as men, and maximally reduce gender inequalities, they must incorporate mechanisms that reflect these goals.

The analysis of employment and earnings in fish processing has shown that while women's employment in fish processing has increased quite significantly over the past three decades, women's employment in this industry is very similar to other industries: women are less likely to work full-time or year-round, they earn less, and, perhaps most importantly, have only a small share of the jobs which involve skills which can be applied outside of fish (or food) processing. This is reflected in the greater attachment by women to fish processing occupations and in the fact that male employment in communities where the fish plant is the dominant employer is as likely to be outside processing as in, whereas most women who work in these communities are employed in fish processing.

These observations have a number of important implications for women in situations where employment in fish processing is reduced, whether as a result of resource shortage or any of the other impacts we have reviewed: women will be more likely to suffer job loss or reduction (since they have 60% of direct processing jobs, and generally a higher percentage of the lower skilled jobs), and because the skills that they

acquired through fish processing are less likely to find an application outside of food processing as compared to the indirect skills most likely to be acquired by males while working for a fish processor. Thus, as a general policy,

> *Greater emphasis should be placed on assisting women to gain access to the indirect jobs involved in fish processing. This focus on assisting women to gain access to non-traditional jobs should be available to existing plant workers and new entrants to the industry.*

This recommendation is intended to increase women's access to skills which can be learned while employed in fish processing and which are more likely to find alternative employment in other industries in the event of job loss or reductions. A key factor that may have contributed to the sexual segregation of work in fishplants is the absence of ongoing training programs within the plants. The absence of such programs has contributed to the risks to occupational health of workers and, because job allocation tends to rely on skills workers are presumed to have acquired before entering the plant, it means that the skills men acquire or are assumed to acquire outside of the plant become critical in assigning jobs within. Another factor contributing to the sexual segregation of work is women's responsibility for work in their home and the inadequacy of existing child care facilities so that even when women have higher seniority and should be called back sooner than some men, if the jobs are defined as male jobs and they are assumed to lack the skills, employers are unwilling to call them in and women may be willing to stay home if the work occurs during the school year. In some cases, women have acquired some of these other skills through local projects, such as construction work, and where seniority systems are operating, they may monitor callbacks closely so that, if exceptions are made, they make it clear to the employer that this is an exception and that on subsequent occasions they expect to be called. There is, then, a commitment to their jobs and to doing what it takes to protect them that could be strengthened by adding more on-the-job training and improving access to adequate, subsidized child care.

In those cases where women have worked in nontraditional areas and where adjustment programs have provided opportunities for them to find nontraditional work outside, as in the case of St. John's, they seemed to have used these skills in innovative and important ways.

The fishery appears to be critically important as a source of employment for women in inshore fishing communities, and men seem to have a greater diversity of employment opportunities in these communities. In communities with inshore fish plants the fishery is often the sole employer for women, while in these same communities men find employment in a number of activities and are far less reliant on fish processing. At the same time, women who work in the fishery are mainly in processing occupations which we have shown to be less useful in finding alternative employment. Thus women in inshore communities will undoubtedly be affected by the fishery crisis more than men. Yet we have found that the government programs which have been developed or targeted in response to the fishery crisis are available to all communities which have some connection to the fishery. This would seem to us to spread the limited resources too thinly and make it unlikely that the women who work in the inshore plants and who are most affected by the crisis will have much success accessing the benefits of these programs. We feel that it would be better if

inshore plant communities were specially targeted by the response programs, and that these programs should specifically target women who are more likely to be affected by the fishery crisis.

Our review of the government programs intended to provide alternatives for fishery workers have provided no evidence that the needs of women have been intentionally and adequately addressed. We feel that there are two reasons for this: first, the position and role of women in the fishery is not adequately understood and secondly, that the design and implementation of the programs has not ensured that the programs will address the needs of women who are more likely to be affected by the problems in the fishery. This seems to occur because appointments to committees have tended to be chosen from amongst the elite of the community who do not seem to be able to understand or represent the possibilities, constraints or interests of women (and likely men) who work in fish processing. This appears to be partially attributable to the gender of appointments as well as to the type of community that they understand and represent. In order for programs such as the AFAP to be able to offer alternatives and support for women who currently or used to work in fish plants

a means must be found whereby the needs and potential of women who work in fish plants can be represented in the design and delivery of government programs designed to address the reduction or loss of employment in fish processing.

With regard to the character of existing government programs which are intended to address the effects of the fisheries crisis we have noted that there are problems in two of the main elements of such programs: the type of training supported and the types of businesses that they have tended to support. In some cases the training offered could be described as traditional male employment and while taken by a small number of women did not attract a large number of the affected women whose training needs were, thus, unmet. This was most evident in Port aux Basques where the occupations being trained for would require people to be away from home for long periods which is difficult for women with family responsibilities. Part of the reason for the problem in Port aux Basques was that a number of the requested programs were not funded, apparently because the courses were offered elsewhere. Another problem with the training was that people had to choose between training and employment in make-work projects which would qualify them for UIC benefits. If appropriate training responses are going to be offered then

line government departments and others involved in providing and funding training must be much more flexible to the needs of the communities and be given the freedom to provide responses which they might not be able to provide under normal circumstances.

In some cases we found that in looking for new business activities, the Community Development Corporations did not actively look for smaller scale business opportunities which could build on local resources, preferring instead, larger operations which could be induced to locate in the community. We feel that this focus likely overlooked potential opportunities and is a strategy which has few successful precedents, while at the same time a general direction of government through the Economic Recovery Commission is more towards smaller scale, sustainable businesses. Many of the initiatives which are being pursued in this regard are in areas such as crafts and tourism, sectors in which women find employment more readily. Proponents

of these initiatives reported that the Community Development Corporations are often very negative about these type of activities and that there is no use even approaching them for assistance in these areas. This bias is probably associated with the tendency of the Community Development Corporations to look towards meeting 'community' needs with single employers instead of assisting those directly affected by the closures to use local skills and resources to meet their own individual employment needs.

Consideration should be given to the whole range of economic activities including the smaller types of activities which appear to be less favoured by traditional community developers.

The research budget for this study was relatively small, an understandable situation in light of the current fiscal situation. However, it is clear from our research that women are affected differently by the fishery crisis, as well as by other ongoing changes in the fishery, and that there is a need for further research to better understand this so that more appropriate policy responses can be developed and implemented. One of the deficiencies we have noted is that the type of data which could provide a baseline for this analysis is not available, despite the fact that in some cases the simple inclusion of a gender variable when data is being collected would remedy some of the deficiency, and that in other cases a modest expenditure would provide special tabulations of important Census data essential to further analysis. Thus, we strongly urge the Women's Policy Office to

press line federal and provincial departments to include gender variables when they collect primary data, and also that recommended special tabulations of the 1986 Census are purchased to provide a baseline for the analysis of women's position in all industries, including the fishery.

APPENDIX 1

IMPACTS AND EFFECTS

SOURCE OF IMPACT	NATURE OF EFFECT					Background Information
	Health and Safety	Employment and Earnings	Employer, Employee Relations	Home and Work (such as child care, hours, stress effects)	Plant and Community (employment and earnings impact on the community)	
INFORMATION SOURCE	Union	Union, Plant, Community	Union, Plant	Community, Union	Community	
Resource Shortage	"	"	"	"	"	**Interviews**-union, DFO, DOF, NIFA, Coalition, FANL **Reports**-Harris, Dunn, Maloney
Mobility of Quotas and Landings						
Sale or Transfer of Quotas	N/A	"	"	"	"	**Interviews**-DFO, DOF, Union **Reports**-Maloney
Trucking	N/A	"	"	"	"	same as above
New Processes and Products						
Secondary Processing	"	"	"	"	N/A	**Interviews**-DFO, DOF, Union, FANL
Underutilized Species	"	"	"	"	N/A	same as above except add NCRDCO report
Productivity Enhancements	"	"	"	"	N/A	**Interviews**-Union
Government Regulations						
UI Regulations	N/A	"	"	"	"	**Interviews**-CEIC, Coalition, DFO, DOF **Reports**-Harris, Maloney
Resource Short Plant Program	"	"	N/A	N/A	"	**Interviews**-ACOA, CEIC, DFO, DOF, Union, FANL **Reports**- Martin
Adjustment Program	N/A	"	"	N/A	"	same as above and WEB
Recovery Program	N/A	"	"	N/A	"	same as above
BACKGROUND INFORMATION	Union, MUN report	Union, EIC, FANL, Harris and Maloney reports	Union, MUN reports	General literature, Porter	General literature	

SOURCE OF IMPACT	COMMUNITY				
	St. John's	Port aux Basques	Gaultois	Trepassey	Hant's Harbour
Resource Shortage	x	x	x	x	x
Mobility of Quotas and Landings					
Sale or Transfer of Quotas	x		x		
Trucking		x			
New Processes and Products					
Secondary Processing					x
Underutilized Species	x			x	x
Productivity Enhancements	x				
Government Regulations					
UI Regulations	x	x			x
Resource Short Plant Program					x
Adjustment Program	x	x	x	x	
Recovery Program	x	x	x	x	
Unionisation	x	x			

APPENDIX 2

LIST OF RESPONDENTS

EIC, IAS, CDF

Wayne Piercy, Director, Adjustment Programs
Tom Hawco, IAS Consultant, Trepassey
Winston Briffett, CDF Consultant, Trepassey
Bob Locke, IAS/CDF Consultant, St. John's, Port aux Basques; POWA
Bea Courtney, Regional Headquarters
Jim Howard, Regional Headquarters
Pat McGuire, Regional Headquarters (UI regulations)
John Morris, ACOA Fisheries Adjustment Program, former EIC/IAS Consultant for St. John's
Ed McCann, Director, Employment Services, Department of Employment and Labour Relations, IAS provincial consultant
Lloyd Pope, EIC consultant, Gaultois
John Tibbitts, private consultant, past IAS Chairperson, Gaultois
Dennis Knight, private consultant, IAS Chairperson, Trepassey
Anne Mills, private consultant, IAS Trepassey, CDF St. John's.
Rosemary Norris, EIC training manager, Metro and Trepassey
Peg Wilkie, EIC employment counsellor, Metro and Trepassey
Paul Kelly, EIC employment counsellor, St. John's and Metro
Wilf Sutton, Employment Services Worker, EIC/Town of Trepassey
Gary O'Brien, CEC Manager, Port aux Basques
George Anderson, Chairperson, IAS Committee, Port aux Basques region; Codroy Valley Development Association
Cal Mitchell, Educational Placement Counsellor, Community Futures Business Development Centre

WOMEN'S ENTERPRISE BUREAU

Jennifer Aucoin, Women's Enterprise Bureau, Port aux Basques
Anne-Marie Anonsen, Women's Enterprise Bureau, St. John's

WOMEN'S CENTRE BOARD, PORT AUX BASQUES, INCLUDING:
Eleanor Major, teacher
Phyllis Walters, Town Council, CFC, CDF
Judy Ingram, past Co-ordinator
Doris Knott, Co-ordinator

FFAW

Reg Anstey, Business Agent, Processing
Jim Keith, President, National Sea St. John's Local
Plant workers, National Sea St. John's plant
Lucy Ash, President, Janes Hant's Harbour Local
Plant workers, Janes Hant's Harbour plant
Barbara Parsons, Bay Roberts, Provincial Executive Board, Women's Caucus

UFCW

Dave Johnson, Southwest Coast Region Rep
Russell Lillington, President, Union Local, Port aux Basques
Janet Francis, Chairperson, Port aux Basques plant
Rita Arsenault, Secretary, UFCW Port aux Basques office, Women's Centre Board

PLANT MANAGEMENT

Phil Barnes, manager, Gaultois plant
Gerry Ward, Interim Manager, Port aux Basques plant
Bill Abbott, Manager, National Sea St. John's plant
Ray Tulk, Manager, Janes Hant's Harbour plant
Elsie Pottle, Quality Control, Janes Hant's Harbour plant

PROVINCIAL AND FEDERAL FISHERIES

Bill Carter, Processing Division, Department of Fisheries
Glenn Blackwood, Harvesting Division, Department of Fisheries
John Collins, DFO
Frank Pinhorn, Director of Processing Operations, Department of Fisheries

OTHER

Lois Saunders, Enterprise Newfoundland and Labrador, Cottage Industries Division, Clarenville.
Elaine Condon, MUN Extension, Gander
Helen King, Co-ordinator, WISE Program, St. John's
Wilfred Meade, Co-ordinator, South West Coast Development Association
Wayne Baggs, school principal, Gaultois
Matthew Stevens, U.C. Minister, Hant's Harbour

APPENDIX 3

Details of the Gender Composition of IAS and CDC Committees

We were not able to get full listings of the memberships of all IAS and CDC committees, however the breakdown of available information which follows does provide an indicator of the gender composition of these committees.

St. John's

The IAS Committee is all male, with members drawn from the union, company, plant workers, EIC and provincial advisors. The Committee is chaired by a local business person.

The Southside Development Corporation has nine Directors. One of the two women Directors is the Executive Director and the other is part-time Secretary for the Corporation. The seven males are drawn from local business, the union, the City of St. John's, the company and a lawyer.

Gaultois

The IAS Committee is all male, with members drawn from the union, company, EIC (regional and local) and the community. It is chaired by a paid consultant.

The CDC is also all male and is made up of individuals from the community with several members holding local positions such as mayor and chairing Community Futures.

Trepassey

The IAS Committee has one woman member, the mayor of Trepassey. Other members represent the union, company, EIC, the Community College, and the community and is chaired by a paid consultant.

The CDC has 4 women and 3 men. It is chaired by the mayor (a woman) and the membership represents the local community.

Port aux Basques

The IAS has 14 members representing the company, unions, plant workers, fixed gear fishermen, otter trawl fishermen, local, regional and provincial EIC, as well as the Department of Education. It is presently chaired by the Principal of the Community College. There are 1 woman and 13 men.

The CDC has a membership of 7, 5 men and 2 women. Members represent the town, Chamber of Commerce, Community Futures, the railway union, and Gateway Status of Women Council. There are no representatives from the fishery.

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